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SEVENTH
EVALUATION
REPORT



ON
Community Development
AND
Some Allied Fields

PROGRAMME EVALUATION ORGANISATION
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PREFACE

The present report, the Seventh Evaluation Report is, in more than one sense, a departure from its predecessors. In the first place, it contains studies other than evaluation studies. There are two sets of case studies of successful panchayats and cooperatives and also a fragmentary study of rural unemployment. All these studies throw light on important problems with which the C.D. programme is concerned; but they have not been prepared from the point of view of what contribution the programme may have made to their solution. Secondly, of the two evaluation studies incorporated in the present report, only one seeks to evaluate the operation of the C.D. programme. The other is made up of three separate evaluations of the winter crop campaign in the States of Punjab, Rajasthan, and U.P. in the year 1958-59. These are, of course, all evaluation studies and they deal with the most important aspect of rural development, viz. the expansion of agricultural output, on which the C.D. programme correctly places the greatest emphasis. But they are, again, not evaluations of the C.D. programme as such.

I do not think it is necessary to anticipate here the reason or reasons which led us to study the different topics mentioned above. The selection was not entirely a matter of choice; but an occasional *pot-pourri* prepared under necessity can be enjoyable.

The several studies included in this year's report are being published separately. The present volume contains the Current Evaluation of 18 selected blocks, a summary of this study as well as summaries of the Reports on Rabi Crop Campaigns in Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. and of Case Studies of Panchayats and Cooperatives, and finally, a brief study of Rural Unemployment. The full reports on the evaluation of the Rabi Crop Campaign in Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. and the case studies of selected Panchayats and Cooperatives are being brought out as separate publications. Questionnaires relevant to the different studies have been given in appropriate places.

NEW DELHI,
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D. GHOSH,
Chairman,
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CHAPTER I

CURRENT EVALUATION STUDY OF EIGHTEEN SELECTED BLOCKS

1. Introduction

1.1.1. *Background.*—The primary objective in evaluating the C.D. programme should be to present a coordinated view of all its aspects so that the reader can come to a judgment on its achievement. Such a study should be, as far as possible, objective; the data on which it is based should be collected according to scientific principles and methods and the intrusion of subjective elements into the analysis and conclusions cut down to the minimum.

1.1.2. This is the ideal which the PEO has kept in view in preparing its studies and reports. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for the Organisation to act up to the ideal as much as it wants to. In the first place, the evaluation reports have dealt with selected aspects rather than with the programme as a whole. This has been a matter of necessity rather than of choice. With the staff and the time at its disposal, it has not been possible for the organisation to carry out simultaneously elaborate field enquiries into all aspects of the programme; it had perforce to select a few every year, hoping to cover them all in two or three years. This procedure has enabled the Organisation to make the studies rather more intensive than they would have been otherwise. Nevertheless, they have remained partial studies, and even if each individual aspect of the programme is correctly evaluated, one still gets a truncated view of the whole programme. Secondly, the statistical samples on which the studies have been based have not been adequate; the number of blocks, villages and households that could be covered by the field staff have not increased *pari passu* with the extension of the programme in the country. This has greatly limited the uses to which the data could be put and affected the value of the conclusions.

1.1.3. This second difficulty is in the process of being reduced. Some expansion of the Organisation has been approved, the field staff is being gradually expanded, and it will be possible, in the near future, to increase the size of the samples that will be used for various studies.

1.1.4. The PEO has decided to use this occasion also to take, at least, the first step in the direction of comprehensive evaluation. In the present it has tried to survey the progress in almost all aspects of the programme during the current year. Unfortunately, it was not possible, for administrative reasons, to take up the study in good time; the enquiries could be started only late in the year and had to be done very summarily. There was not time for the use of statistical techniques in collecting data; reliance had to be placed on facts gathered through broad questionnaires. The study is thus a very tentative one; it is a rough sketch of what has been happening to the programme during the last year.

1.2.1. *Nature and collection of data**.—The data for the study were, usual, collected by the field staff of the Organisation. They were asked to report on all important aspects of the programme, agriculture, animal husbandry, organisation of supply, cooperation, village industries, health, education, social education, democratic decentralisation and people's outlook and attitude. These main heads of enquiry were divided into sub-heads to provide further guidance to investigators. The field staff were, however, told that the lists of heads and of sub-heads were illustrative rather than exhaustive, and that they were to note any significant fact that came to their knowledge. They were also asked to collect information on some features of the selected blocks and the villages with a view to provide a general background to the study.

1.2.2. The observations made by the field staff are based on discussions with villagers and block officials and on records available at the block offices or with VLWs or other reliable sources. The REOs have checked the reports of the PEOs and supplemented these by their own observations and comments. While the PEOs' observations are confined to the blocks in which they worked, the REOs have commented on events happening at higher levels and over wider areas. The PEOs and REOs were asked to make their comments after careful thought and only on the basis of facts observed by them or obtained from reliable sources.

1.3.1. *Coverage of the enquiries**.—Only 18 blocks were selected for investigation. The number of blocks is admittedly very small and can hardly be called an adequately representative sample. But the time and personnel resources available to the Organisation did not permit a larger coverage.

* Details of the selected blocks and the questionnaire used for the study are given in Appendix II.

1.3.2. The selected blocks are located in 13 States, as shown below:—

State	Name of Block
1. Andhra	Forumamilla
2. Assam	Hajo
3. Bihar	Tajpur
„	Wazirganj
4. Bombay	Karvir
„	Manavadar
„	Morsi
5. Kerala	Kazhakuttam
6. Madhya Pradesh	Astha
7. Madras	Kalayarkoil
8. Mysore	Hunsur
9. Orissa	Binka
10. Punjab	Bataia
„	Bhadson
11. Rajasthan	San chore
„	Tenk
12 U.P.	Bhathat
13. West Bengal	Mohd. Bazar

Three blocks were chosen in Bombay, two each in Bihar, Punjab and Rajasthan, and one each in the remaining States. The community development programme has been in operation in these blocks for an average period of 5½ years. Seven blocks have been in existence for 3 to 4 years, three for 4 to 7 years and the remaining eight for 7 to 10 years. The blocks are equally divided between Stage

I and Stage II. They vary widely in size, from 29,000 acres to about 7,45,000 acres. The number of villages in their jurisdiction varies from 40 to 275, while their population ranges from 53 thousand to about 174 thousand.

1.4.1. *Limitations of data.*—The assessments made by the PEOs are based on their personal observations in the villages and on the views of block officials and knowledgeable persons in the villages. Besides, 9 of the 18 selected blocks are located in districts in which the PEOs are posted. In most cases, they have been working in these blocks for a number of years. They are, therefore, familiar with the programmes and the problems of these blocks. In spite of all cautions and safeguards, however, it is not possible completely to eliminate bias from the enquiry.

1.4.2. In our efforts to obtain data, we met with serious difficulty in many cases due to the paucity and incompleteness of the records available in the blocks. Besides, what people understand by such terms as "community centre", "youth club" etc. differs from block to block. More important data showing the state of things at the time when the blocks were started are usually not available. It has, therefore, not been possible except in a few cases, to comment on the progress made since the development work was taken up.

2. Agriculture

2.0.1. Our investigation was limited to an assessment of the progress of the various measures adopted in the sample blocks for land reclamation, irrigation, improved cultural practices, improvement in the pattern of farming, and the nature of extension methods used and their impact on production.

2.1.0. *Agricultural problems in the block areas.*—The investigators were asked first to ascertain what agricultural problems the villagers as well as the block and the village officials considered most important in their blocks. The groups do not seem to differ materially in their opinion though, in some instances, the block officials, for obvious reasons, placed more emphasis on administrative problems. The idea was to assess the programme in terms of what the local people considered to be important problem or problems.

2.1.1. The problems thus reported amount to 21; the number varying from block to block. Their distribution by blocks is given below:

Problems	No. of blocks in which cited
1. Irrigation	14
2. Pests and diseases	6
3. Soil erosion	5
4.0. <i>Inadequate supplies of</i>	
4.1. Seeds	4
4.2. Fertilizers	5
5.0. <i>Late Supplies of</i>	
5.1. Seeds	3
5.2. Fertilizers	4
6. Floods	3
7. Water-logging	2
8. Stray cattle	2
9. Need for suitable varieties of crops	2
10. Small holdings	2
11. Need for compost making	1
12. Backwardness of the people	1
13. Lack of credit	1
14. Poor soil	1
15. Shortage of cattle	1
16. Need for extension education	1
17. Lack of transport facilities	1
18. Lack of pasture	1
19. Lack of facilities for soil research	1
20. Caste system	1
21. System of land tenure	1

Most blocks seem to have 1 to 3 problems; only 6 have 4 or more problems. What, however, was regarded as a problem depended on the concept of a 'problem' that investigators, villagers and others had. There is some tendency on the part of the villagers to think of natural and environmental difficulties rather than the organisational ones as problems.

2.1.2. Lack of irrigation facilities is cited as a problem in the largest number of blocks, 14 out of 18. In one of the 14 blocks its solution seems to have been made easier by the Hirakud project. In another, which falls within the command area of the Mayurakshi project, completed in 1953-54, the expected benefits have not as yet accrued

fully. It was estimated that the project would enable extension of irrigation to 13,000 acres in Kharif and about 2,000 acres in Rabi. The additional areas irrigated came to 53% and 4% of the estimates in Kharif 1959 and Rabi 1958 respectively. There is, thus, considerable scope for increasing of the irrigated acreage as well as for improving the crop pattern provided certain improvements are made in the distribution of canal water. In other blocks, progress is likely to be gradual as it depends upon the construction and maintenance of wells by individual landowners. In four blocks natural factors such as stony strata, absence of rivers, alkaline soil, etc. render the provision of irrigation facilities difficult.

2.1.3. Pests and diseases are considered one of the most important problems in 6 blocks. In one of these, the die-back, blight and rust are estimated to have reduced the production of chillies, paddy and wheat by 25% to 35%. It is reported that in some cases the remedies available with the block are not fully effective. In a flood-affected block, some new pests have appeared as a result of recurring floods. The Agriculture Department has not so far been able to recommend control measures. The block is giving a 50% subsidy for the purchase of insecticides and spraying and dusting machines. In another it is reported that even the improved seeds are affected by diseases.

2.1.4. Soil erosion constitutes a serious problem in 5 blocks, but the nature and gravity of the problem vary among blocks, depending on the soil, the terrain, the wind, the rains and rivers.

2.1.5. Floods are a serious problem in 3 blocks. In one of these almost the whole of the cultivated area in 15 out of a total of 55 inhabited villages remains under water for 2 to 2½ months every year. One of the blocks has been the victim of floods in each of the last 4 years, and the resultant water-logging has become a serious handicap to farming. Rabi sowings have been delayed and the production of both rabi and kharif crops affected adversely. The State Government has started a number of projects to drain the areas; the digging of small drains by the villagers on a voluntary basis seems to have achieved good result. In another block which has 175 inhabited villages, water-logging is a problem in 15 villages and a serious problem in 33 villages.

2.2.0. *Land use and improvement.*—The investigators were asked to obtain information on the manner in which villagers were using land as an asset, and, in particular, were trying to effect land improvements. More speci-

fically, they were instructed to find out the coverage in respect of conservation, irrigation and reclamation of land in their blocks.

2.2.1. *Reclamation*.—An indirect estimate of the land reclaimed over the period of the programme can be made for a number of blocks. We have sought to do this by taking the reduction (upto June, 1959) in the area described as 'cultivable waste' in a block as a rough index of the progress of reclamation, where actual figures of area reclaimed were not available. Table 1.1 gives this information for the blocks under study. The usual limitations of the official statistics should be borne in mind in interpreting these data.

Table 1.1
Reclamation of land in selected blocks

Block	Area reclaimed since inception till 30-6-59 (Acres)	'Cultivable Waste' at the time of inception (Acres)	% area reclaimed since inception to the 'cultivable waste' at the time of inception	% area reclaimed to the net cultivated area at the time of inception
1	2	3	4	5
1. Porumamilla	2,171	26,145**	8.3**	5.4†
2. Hajo	Nil	1,080*	Nil	Nil
3. Tajpur I	Nil	765*	Nil	Nil
4. Karvir	435	1,714*	25.4*	0.4*
5. Manavadar	3,591	7,697	46.7	3.5
6. Morsi	18,109	21,265	85.2	15.6
7. Kazhakuttam	Nil	1,895	Nil	Nil
8. Ashta	10,000	68,061	14.7	6.3
9. Kalayarkoil	121‡	18,262	0.7	0.3
10. Hunsur	16,402	34,229	47.9	23.0
11. Bhadson	3,702	15,381	63.1	11.7
12. San chore	2,854‡	1,67,108**	1.7**	0.7†
13. Tonk	2,649*	72,697**	3.6**	1.2†
14. Mohd. Bazar	3,690	4,700	78.5	14.3
Average	4,980	31,499	15.8	4.6

*Relates to 1956-57.

**Figures of cultivable waste at the time of inception arrived at by adding area reclaimed (col. 2) to the figures of cultivable waste in 1958-59.

†Figures of net cultivated area relate to 1958-59.

‡Until November 1959.

On an average, between the inception of the block programme and 30 June, 1959, about 5,000 acres have been reclaimed per block during the period. In 3 blocks, no progress was made. In 5 blocks 47% to 85% of the cultivable waste has been reclaimed. It is not, however, known whether the basis of classification of cultivable waste was the same at the two points of time.

In order to get an idea of the impact of reclamation on cultivated area, figures relating reclamation to the cultivated area have been given in the last column. Reclamation has brought about an average addition of about 5% in the cultivated area of the blocks; the percentage varies from 0.3 to 23 in different blocks.

2.2.2. *Irrigation.*—To form an idea of the progress in the field of irrigation, an attempt was made to obtain data on irrigated area during the pre-block year and 1958-59, and to relate them to the net cultivated area in the corresponding periods. In one block, there is practically no irrigation facility. Figures of irrigated acreages available for 16 out of the remaining 17 blocks are set out in table 1.2.

Table 1.2

Progress of irrigation in selected blocks

Block	Irrigated area		Increase in irrigated area during the block period (col. 3—col. 2) (Acres)	Percentage increase (col. 4 as % of col. 2)
	Pre-block year (Acres)	1958-59 (Acres)		
1	2	3	4	5
1. Porumamilla . . .	14,846†	15,010	164	1.1
2. Tajpur I . . .	934†	2,620	1,686	180.5
3. Wazirganj . . .	15,826	23,473	7,647	48.3
4. Karvir . . .	14,743†	15,756	1,013	6.9
5. Manavadar . . .	7,293	24,293	17,000	233.1
6. Morsi . . .	584	3,671	3,087	528.6

1	2	3	4	5
7. Ashta . . .	1,468	1,776	308	21'0
8. Kalayarkoil . . .	29,664	33,045	3,381	11'4
9. Hunsur . . .	7,585	8,037	452	6'0
10. Binka . . .	Negligible	24,670	24,670	*
11. Batala . . .	49,054	54,437	5,383	11'0
12. Bhadson . . .	51,125	61,075	9,950	19'5
13. San chore . . .	1,572†	8,222	6,650	423'0
14. Tonk . . .	27,544	27,086	—(458)	—(1'7)
15. Bhathat . . .	16,279	18,316	2,037	12'5
16. Mohd. Bazar . . .	1,560	8,856	7,296	467'7
TOTAL . . .	2,40,090	3,30,243	90,153	..
Average . . .	15,006	20,640	5,645	37'5

*Negligible irrigated area in pre-block year.

†Figures relate to 1956-57.

On an average the irrigated area per block went up during the period by 5,635 acres or by 37·5%. It rose in all blocks except one in which underwent a slight decline. In six blocks the advance has been very marked. In 1 block it has nearly trebled in three years, and in another more than trebled. In 3 it has risen by over 4 to over 5 times. Four of these five blocks belonging to the first series of projects and have, therefore, not only been in the development programme for over 7 years but also had the benefit of higher investment than others. In one of these, the advance is almost entirely due to the Mayurakshi Project. In Manavadar the large rise has been brought about by minor irrigation projects during the 7 years of block work. Binka where over 24,000 acres have been brought under irrigation in a period of less than 4 years, lies within the command area of the Hirakud Project.

2.2.3. To show where the blocks stand at present in this respect, these figures are related in table 1·3 to net cultivated area.

Table 1·3

Increase in irrigated area in relation to net cultivated area

Block	Percentage of irrigated to net cultivated area		Rise in percentage	
	Pre-block year	1958-59	irrigated to cultivated area (col. 3 — col. 2)	irrigated area
1	2	3	4	5
1. Porumamilla . . .	N.A.	37·3	N.A.	1·1
2. Tajpur I . . .	3·5†	9·8	6·3	180·5
3. Wazirganj . . .	50·5	41·0	—(9·5)	48·3
4. Manavadar . . .	7·4	20·9	13·5	233·1
5. Karvir . . .	13·7†	14·1	0·4	6·9
6. Morsi . . .	0·5	2·6	2·1	528·6
7. Ashta . . .	0·9	1·2	0·3	21·0
8. Kalayarkoil . . .	70·7	78·8	8·1	11·4
9. Hunsur . . .	10·8	10·7	—(0·1)	6·0
10. Binka . . .	Negligible	N.A.	N.A.	@
11. Batala . . .	79·3	97·1	17·8	11·0
12. Bhadson . . .	61·7	57·5	—(4·2)	19·5
13. Sanchole . . .	N.A.	1·9	N.A.	423·0
14. Tonk . . .	N.A.	12·5	N.A.	—(1·7)
15. Bhathat . . .	N.A.	55·0**	N.A.	12·5
16. Mohd. Bazar . . .	6·1	23·2	17·1	467·7
Average* . . .	21·8	25·6	3·8	37·5

@Negligible irrigated area in the pre-block year.

**—Net cultivated area assumed to be the same as in December, 1959

†—Figures relate to 1956-57.

*—For 11 blocks which are common to cols. 2 and 3.

The proportion of the irrigated area in the selected blocks to the net cultivated area varies from 1·2% to 97·1% in 1958-59 and from 0·5% to 79·3% in the pre-block year. Though the irrigated area has risen by 37·5%, its proportion to the cultivated area has risen by 3·8% only, as the area under cultivation has also expanded. The following statement shows the classification of

blocks in respect of the proportion of the irrigated to the net cultivated area in 1958-59.

% irrigated area to cultivated area	No. of blocks
Less than 10	4
10 to less than 20	3
20 to less than 50	4
50 and over	4
TOTAL	15

In about half the blocks, the percentage of irrigated to cultivated area is less than 20, which is roughly the all-India average.

2.2.4. A comparison of the percentages for the two periods (col. 4 of Table 1.3) shows the progress made in the blocks during the block period. As this is the result of the variations in both irrigated and cultivated areas the figures showing the rise in irrigated area are also given in Col. 5. On the whole, the proportion of the cultivated area enjoying irrigation was higher by about 4% in 1958-59 than in the pre-block year. In 3 blocks this proportion has gone down, notwithstanding the fact that their irrigated areas went up during this period by 6% to 48.3%. There was a larger proportionate increase in the cultivated than in the irrigated area. In 3 others, too, the increase has been less than 5% and in the remaining five, 6% to 18%. In 3 of these cases, the rise is very much less than in the irrigated area, because the cultivated area has also increased.

2.2.5. The sources of irrigation are wells, tanks, tube-wells, lift schemes, pumps and canals. Wells are in use in a large number of blocks and are the principal source in most of them. In a few blocks tanks are the principal source; in some others they supplement other sources. Pumping sets have been installed in 6 blocks and are being introduced in one block. Lift irrigation is used in 2 blocks and in one of them, it constitutes the principal source. The Hirakud Project is expected to provide irrigation to the entire cultivated area in one of the selected blocks by June, 1960.

2.2.6. The irrigation programme is thus forging ahead in most blocks, simultaneously with the extension of cultivation to new areas. On an average the progress in the former seems to have been greater than in the latter. Construction and repair of wells, installation of pumping sets, and sinking of tube wells have been reported from

many blocks during the last 6 months. It has not, however, been possible for us to ascertain whether all the old irrigation works are being adequately maintained.

2.2.7. *Soil conservation.*—Soil conservation measures have been taken during the reference period in 14 blocks. In one of the 4 blocks where these have not been taken up, the extension officer has recently received his training in soil conservation. He has also received the equipment necessary for his work. It may be noted that in some blocks there is actually no problem of soil conservation or because of the topography of land little scope for measures like terracing and contour cultivation.

2.2.8. In 9 out of 14 blocks the soil conservation measures represent the traditional bund (on the boundary) construction. In some blocks there seems to be a distinct need for adapting the operation to topography and rainfall. In 3 of them such bund construction is an important programme and State-wide campaigns have been organised. In one of these it is estimated that about 77% of the cultivated area has been covered by bund construction. The major part of the work was done on consolidated holdings. In some villages a feeling was expressed that this affects the fertility of the soil adversely.

2.2.9. In some blocks more modern measures for soil conservation have been taken. A soil conservation unit has been working in one block since January, 1959, and about 1700 acres have been covered by contour bunding. Some villages had, however, not done bunding as there seems to be a notion there that bunding results in water-logging. In another block apart from contour bunding, other measures like construction of drainage have also been taken up. In 2 blocks emphasis has been placed mainly on the construction of drains to protect the land from water-logging and floods. In one of these 15 miles of drains were laid by voluntary labour during 1959. In the other 10 miles of drains were laid during July to December, 1959.

2.3.0. *Improved methods and practices.*—These fall into two broad categories, (a) seeds and fertilizers, (b) other improved cultural practices.

2.3.1. *Improved seeds.*—Improved seeds are being distributed in every block. In spite of considerable effort statistics of the area under improved seeds could be obtained for very few blocks. In 10 blocks for which we could collect this information, the percentage of the total area

under the principal crops for which improved seeds have been used, ranged from less than 1 to 73 in 1958-59. The acreage under improved seeds of paddy ranged in 10 blocks from .01% to 63.3%, being less than 5% in 4 blocks and between 57.5%—63% in 3 blocks. As much as 89% to 100% of the sugarcane acreage is under improved seeds in 4 blocks.

2.3.2. Comparable figures for the pre-block period are available for 4 blocks only. In each of them the area over which improved seeds are used has gone up considerably. In one block where no improved seeds were being used before the inception of the block, about 10,000 acres or 15% of the area under principal crops have been brought under improved seeds. In another about 31,000 acres have been put under improved seeds, raising its area by about 130% and its percentage to cropped area from 44% to 62%, even though the cropped area itself rose by about 61%. In the other two the rise has been comparatively small; only 1961 acres and 2,750 acres have been added during this period. In the former the increase was in proportion to that in the cropped area. In the latter, the cropped area being unchanged, the percentage of the area under improved seeds went up by about 11%.

2.3.3. *Fertilizers.*—But fertilizers are distributed for one or more crops in about every block. Statistics of the area under principal crops on which fertilizers were used during 1958-59 are available for 7 blocks only; they were being used on 0.7% to 53.5% of the area. The proportions are less than 5% in 2 and less than 10% in 5 blocks.

2.3.4. Comparable figures for the pre-block year are available for 2 blocks only. In one of them fertilizers were introduced during the block period and extended to an area of about 6,000 acres by 1958-59. In the other an additional 7,614 acres was covered, raising the percentage of the area under fertilizers to the cropped area by 7.4%, through the cropped area increased by 8%.

2.3.5. As it is commonly held that the availability of irrigation promotes the use of fertilizers, an attempt was made to find out how the acreage under fertilizers compare with the irrigated acreages in 6 of the 7 blocks for which the latter data are available. It is found that, in 1 of them the area under fertilizers is over 5 times and in another about twice that of the irrigated area, showing that there is considerable scope for the use of fertilizers in non-irrigated area also. The main crops in the former are wheat, paddy and maize and in the latter, paddy,

sugarcane, jowar and groundnut. In the other four blocks fertilizers are being used only on 2·8% to 75·8% of the irrigated area showing that there is considerable scope for the extension of the use of fertilizers in these blocks. While the use of fertilizers has generally increased in all blocks, there is scope for much greater extension both in irrigated and in unirrigated areas.

2.4.1. *Improved cultural practices*.—Improved cultural practices in vogue in the blocks were noted by our investigators. These are arranged in the order of importance as follows:—

1. Line sowing;
2. Japanese method of paddy cultivation;
3. Seed treatment;
4. Intensive cultivation or trench sowing;
5. Inter-cultural operations;
6. Wider spacing;
7. Reduction in seed rate;
8. Improved implements;
9. Seed drill;
10. Mixed cropping;
11. Intensive manuring;
12. Dibbling;
13. Poona method of jowar and U.P. method of wheat cultivation;
14. Green manuring;
15. Crop rotation;
16. Square sowing;
17. Thinner sowing;
18. Double cropping.

Of these, line sowing is the most widely accepted practice, being followed in 12 blocks. The reason is that it is applicable to several crops. Japanese method comes next. It is in use in 10 blocks, practically all in which paddy is grown to an appreciable extent. In one block the area under Japanese method is slowly declining in some villages as it is not considered worthwhile in the absence of assured

irrigation. Intensive cultivation or trench sowing has been recommended in 4 blocks; wider spacing and intercultural operation in three and other practices in one or two blocks.

2.4.2. The propagation of improved varieties of seeds and implements and of fertilizers and better cultural practices is going on in the blocks generally. New practices have been introduced during the year under review in half the blocks. Some attempts to introduce boro paddy cultivation were made in one of the others. The new practices introduced in one or more blocks included new varieties of seed, seed treatment, Poona method of Jowar cultivation, mixed cropping, double cropping, intensive manuring, use of paddy weeder, and cultivation of new crops. Some of these have already been put into practice by cultivators in the blocks, e.g., improved varieties of sugarcane and paddy, mixed and double cropping, seed treatment. Other cultivators are watching the results of demonstration or of the adoption by others.

2.4.3. However the practices seem to be spreading very slowly, even if one notes only the number of blocks in which they have come into vogue. We have not enough data to indicate the extent to which the practices have spread within the blocks or the degree to which they conform to the standards prescribed by the agricultural experts. There are, however, some instances of glaring deficiency.

2.4.4. Villagers and service-men gave various reasons for the slow progress. There was shortage of improved seeds of barley in one block and of summer paddy in another. Lack of irrigation hampered adoption of cultural practices in a third, and the use of improved seeds of wheat and fertilizers in a fourth. Shortage and delay in the supply of fertilizers were experienced in 3 blocks.

2.5.0. *Pattern of farming.*—Changes in the pattern of farming are both a step towards and a result, of advance in the standard of farming. An attempt was made to enquire into a few important aspects, viz., the intensity of cropping, growing of garden crops and vegetables, introduction of mixed farming and cash crops. The observations in this section reveal trends over the period of existence of the block.

2.5.1. One index of the intensity of cropping is the extent to which double cropping is resorted to. An attempt was made to collect figures of the area double-cropped in the pre-inception year and in 1958-59. Such information, available for 10 blocks, is set forth in Table 1.4 below:

Table 1.4

Proportion of net cultivated area double-cropped

Block		Pre-incep- tion year.	1958-59
		%	%
1.	Hajo	24.1	24.3
2.	Wazirganj	11.3	15.7
3.	Karvir	2.45	2.44
4.	Manavadar	0.18	3.70
5.	Ashta	1.33	3.62
6.	Kalayarkoil	6.70	6.70
7.	Hunsur	20.04	13.21
8.	Batala	23.0	21.5
9.	Bhadson	28.01	27.08
10.	Mohd. Bazar	6.07	1.45
Average		10.4	10.9

2.5.2. In Hajo, Karvir and Kalayarkoil this proportion has remained practically constant. In Hunsur and Mohd. Bazar there was a marked decline due both to an increase in the cultivated area and a fall in the area double-cropped. In Bhadson and Batala there was a slight decline in the percentage because of a rise in the cultivated area in the former and of a decline in the double-cropped area in the latter. In Wazirganj and Ashta there was some rise and in Manavadar a marked rise, though, in both blocks, the net cultivated area also rose.

2.5.3. A trend towards an intensity of cropping is recorded in other blocks; statistics are, however, not available on this point. A tendency to grow more garden and vegetable crops is discernible in 12 blocks. Shortage of seed and bad communications have retarded the extension of new crops in a block. Progress has been retarded in some blocks due to lack of irrigation.

2.5.4. In almost all the blocks studied, farming is confined to arable cultivation. In only one block, an advance towards mixed farming has been reported. A beginning has been made in a few blocks.

2.5.5. In 3 blocks some progress has been achieved in the introduction of non-food crops like Sea Island cotton, cashewnut, cigarette tobacco and mustard.

2.5.6. In 10 blocks the ratio of the area under cereals and pulses to that under cash crops has remained steady. In four blocks it has changed in favour of cash crops, the change being very marked in one. In the remaining 4 blocks the shift has been the other way, from cash to food crops. In one block the high excise duty has diverted about 30% of the area under tobacco to food crops. The excise duty has been responsible for the decline in tobacco acreage in another block also.

2.6.1. *Extension methods.*—The adoption of improved practices depends on the effectiveness of the extension methods used. The frequency of the different extension methods employed in the blocks is shown below:—

<i>Extension method</i>	<i>No. of blocks</i>
1. Demonstrations	14
2. Group discussions, meetings, lectures	8
3. Village leaders' training camps	8
4. Audio-visual aids, films, dramas	7
5. Individual contacts	5
6. Sight seeing	2

Demonstration continues to be the main technique. Obviously, its impact depends on the manner in which it is done. The other methods are used in a few blocks only. Extension work is considered to be weak in a few blocks.

2.6.2. We do not have data to show how firmly improved practices have been adopted in different areas. But it has come to the notice of the investigators that the Japanese method is not accompanied by an appreciation of its advantages in one block and the use of fertilizers for potato did not give satisfactory results in another.

2.7.1. *Impact on yield of crops.*—Since the aim of an agricultural programme is to raise production, change in output provides the best test of success. Changes in output are, however, difficult to access through a quick, general survey of the type we could carry out this year. It was, accordingly, decided to obtain from the villagers and others, their impression about changes in the yield per acre of crops during the last four or five years and whether these had risen above the normal. It may be added here that increasing the yield has been a major objective of agricultural production programmes. Usually, records of yields of crops are not available in the blocks. In only 2 blocks, such figures are available based on crop-cutting surveys. Our investigators tried to form an idea, by discussion with

knowledgeable cultivators and block staff, of yields of important crops harvested last year and at the time of inception or a few years back. These do not, however, yield firm conclusions. Changes in yield may be due to the programme and/or other factors, e.g., season with which the programme had little or nothing to do. In 3 blocks investigators did not find it possible to make any comments. Out of the remaining 15 blocks, yields in two show an all-round improvement and in 1 block, there was no change. In 12 blocks, the trend in yield was not uniform for all crops. But the estimates in one, where an all-round improvement occurred, are based on the yields of relatively favourably situated demonstration plots. In the other block, the general improvement was the result of a large extension in irrigation.

2.7.2. In 1 out of the 12 blocks, in which yields did not change uniformly, they are estimated to have gone down for some crops, but remained unchanged for others. In 11 blocks yields are estimated to have risen for some crops, but to have shown no change or to have declined for other crops. The rise occurred in paddy only in 6 blocks, in paddy and sugarcane in 1 and in paddy and some other cereals in another. Of the remaining 3, a rise in yields occurred in cotton, sugarcane and jowar in 1 block, in cotton and groundnut in the second and in sugarcane in the third. No changes are estimated in the yields of the other crops except that in 2 areas yields of cereals are estimated to have suffered a decline. In short, the evidence gathered enables us merely to say that there has been an increase in the yield per acre for some crops and in some blocks. It should be noted that this statement relates, to repeat, to the yield per acre and not to total output. The latter has, in fact, increased generally.

3. *Animal husbandry and fisheries*

3.0.1. *Introduction.*—Programmes for the development of animal husbandry and fisheries in the rural areas have been in operation for a number of years. The Departments of the State Governments concerned were initially responsible for their implementation. Even after the Community Development blocks came into existence the departments continued to play an important role. The position in 1959 does not show much difference from this pattern; the blocks do not still have the entire responsibility for these programmes which are largely implemented by the staff of the departments. In evaluating the activities in this field we have, therefore, found it necessary to consider the nature and contents of individual programmes, irrespective of the extent of responsibility of the block *vis-a-vis* that of the department of the State Governments.

3.0.2. The main objective of the programmes in the field of animal husbandry has all along been to increase the level of efficiency and performance of livestock and other animals in the rural area. The principal factors affecting this efficiency relate to the three well-known aspects of animal husbandry—breeding, feeding and disease control. An attempt has been made by us to study the nature and intensity of measures taken to bring about improvements in these three aspects and the difficulties and handicaps encountered in the process. Our investigators were accordingly asked to report on the progress made in their areas in regard to programmes for (1) up-grading the breed of animals; (2) supply of food and fodder of proper quality; and (3) disease control through the extension of veterinary aid facilities. The Investigators also noted the steps taken for the development of poultry, piggery, and other types of animal husbandry, as well as of pisciculture. The data obtained were not, however, uniform in all cases with the result that it has not been possible for us to compare the progress or the order of achievement in the 18 blocks of our sample.

Cattle and livestock

3.1.0. *Improvement of breeds of livestock.*—Among the measures adopted by the State Governments, the more important ones are the setting up of artificial insemination centres, the supply of pedigree bulls and other animals for breeding purposes, and the castration of scrub bulls. An evaluation of each of these programmes is attempted in the next few sections.

3.1.1. *Artificial insemination centres.*—Of the 18 blocks in our sample, eight did not have, in 1959, any artificial insemination centre. Among these eight, again, one was expected to undertake the programme by the end of the year. As for the other seven, artificial insemination was not within the accepted programme upto 1959-60. One of these blocks is located very close to a city where an A.I. centre exists. Unfortunately, the villagers in the block have not taken much advantage of this facility. Among the reasons for the delay in starting the centres in these blocks the more important ones, as understood by the PEOs, are : (i) poor communication facilities, which have tended to discourage the opening of AI centres, as the area that could be covered from a centre would be below the capacity, (ii) lack of a felt need among the villagers, and (iii) the non-supply of the necessary equipment to the block administration in one case.

3.1.2. Of the ten blocks in which AI centres were found to exist in 1959, four have had them only for a short time, not more than three years. The other six blocks have had such centres longer; some having started it as early as 1953. Some of these centres, again, were able to establish by 1959, a number of sub-centres, and serve more than one block. Thus, the coverage in respect of artificial insemination shows extreme variations from block to block; the achievement has been far from uniform in all areas.

3.1.3. In general, in the older blocks the progress has been better than in the newer ones. A number of difficulties have been reported, e.g. inadequacy of the propaganda effort in relation to the resistance of the people, inadequate number of sub-centres in relation to the demand in these blocks where the propaganda and publicity efforts have become successful, and in a few areas weakening of the people's belief in the effectiveness of artificial insemination as a result of occasional failure of impregnation through the method. The general picture emerging from our study of the 18 blocks shows that, in these blocks where the programme has been in operation for five years or more and where the physical factors and publicity have been favourable, there has been cumulative progress. The popularity of artificial insemination is on the increase and a larger proportion of the cultivators seem to be taking to it, in spite of the fee that is charged.

3.2.1. *Supply of pedigree animals.*—Of the 18 blocks in the sample, 14 had by 1959 included this item among their activities. Only four blocks did not do it. In one of these four, again, there was a deliberate attempt to exclude this programme so that artificial insemination could be popularised. It may, therefore, be said that in only three of the 18 blocks has this activity not been undertaken so far.

3.2.2. The emphasis has been on the supply of breeding bulls. In a few blocks, however, other animals have also been distributed for breeding. The supply of these other animals seems to have been dictated by the type of husbandry practised in particular areas. Thus in three blocks a number of rams have been distributed and, in one a few he-buffaloes and a large number of poultry birds as well as eggs. In regard to the bulls, the blocks show fairly wide variations in the number distributed. In some the number is only 12; while in some others more than 40 pedigree bulls have been given.

3.2.3. Different methods have been adopted in different blocks to run this programme. In some pedigree bulls are supplied under the premium scheme, i.e. on payment

of a certain sum by the villagers, an equal amount being provided by the Government for its maintenance. The animals are placed under the care of individual farmers who are authorised to charge fee for each crossing. Another method of distribution followed in some areas is for the State Government to supply the bulls free of charge and to entrust the village panchayats with their maintenance. A third method, recently started by a block, provides for a subsidy of 50 per cent by the Animal Husbandry Department of the State Government towards the cost of the bulls or, alternatively, the bearing of maintenance charges by the Department for the first three years. The animals are, usually, placed under the custody of individual villagers. Whatever the method of distribution followed in the different blocks, a fee is normally charged by the persons or panchayats entrusted with the upkeep of the bulls, the charge per crossing varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 2. It is interesting to note that the Panchayat Samiti in one block has decided to encourage this programme; one of the measures proposed is to raise the fee to Rs. 5 per crossing. It may be added here that in most blocks the pedigree animals have been obtained locally, pedigree bulls having been imported from outside by only a few.

3.2.4. The progress achieved in respect of improvement of breeds through the supply of pedigree animals seems to show fairly wide variations from block to block. It is not, therefore, possible to generalise about the order of achievement in all the blocks taken together. A few points may, however, be made here regarding the extent of progress achieved in some of these. In the first place, it seems that the number of pedigree bulls distributed in a number of blocks falls short of their target for this programme. Secondly, in some of the blocks even though the bulls have been distributed for some time, full use is not yet being made of their servicing capacity. It has been found that the number of servicings per year is below 25 per bull in some cases, against a capacity of about 100. This shows inadequate arrangements for the running of the programme at the block level. The main reason offered for this state of affairs is inadequate staff. Thirdly, there has been a complaint in some of the block areas that the fee charged is high and not within easy reach of the mass of cultivators. Fourthly, in one block, at least, a complaint has been received that no replacement of the bulls supplied more than five years back has been forthcoming. In the meantime some of the bulls originally supplied have either died or degenerated due to old age and lack of proper maintenance. Lastly, another complaint received from one or two of the blocks is that the custodians of the bulls do not maintain them properly with the result that

their capacity becomes poor. There have been also occasional reports about the utilisation of these bulls for purposes other than breeding.

3.3.1. *Castration.*—Castration has so far been within the normal sphere of activity of the Animal Husbandry Departments of the State Governments. The blocks have tried to supplement their efforts. In many blocks this item of activity has been taken in hand; but progress has been very uneven and, in most cases, very small. In none of the blocks from which information has been received, has the coverage exceeded 30 per cent of the villages.

3.3.2. The arrangement made for the castration of scrub bulls is not the same in all blocks. In some area the departmental officers themselves are responsible for this activity. In some others, the VLWs are provided with first-aid boxes after they have been trained in the methods of castration. In some others, the Veterinary Dispensary is the only place where this operation can be conducted.

3.3.3. The greatest difficulty that this item of activity seems to have been facing is the general apathy of the villagers. This has been the main factor retarding progress. In one or two blocks, however, the villagers do not seem to have been convinced about the efficiency of the methods of castration used by the Department. They seem to think that the old method of castration is easier and more effective. There is thus considerable scope for extension effort particularly in the education of villagers and the wearing down of their resistance to desirable changes.

3.4.1 *General remarks.*—It has not been possible for us to assess the quantitative impact of the measures adopted for the improvement of breeds of animals. All that could be attempted was to obtain the general views of the block officials regarding the nature and extent of improvement that has taken place as a result of these measures. It seems from the replies that in the blocks, where proper measures have been undertaken, their effect is still very small, except in areas covered by the Key Village Scheme. The improvements effected in some areas have tended to become localized on account of the lack of facility for multiplication, and the absence of a comprehensive approach.

3.4.2. While the proportion of animals in the category of improved breeds is, according to our reports, still fairly low in most areas, there is a feeling that this proportion has been slowly increasing, at least, in some areas, over the last few years. In some cases the improvement has been only in respect of the draught cattle while in others

it has reached the milch cattle also. In some blocks, however, further progress seems to be impeded by the lack of sufficient appreciation among the people of the need for improved breeds and it is as yet too early to try final assessment of the impact of these programmes on the quality and performance of the animals.

3.5.0. *Increase in fodder supply.*—It is well-known that the upgrading of breeds will fail to show significant results in the performance of animals unless it is accompanied by improvements in the quality and quantity of feeds supplied to them. The supply of fodder thus assumes a crucial role. Our investigators were, accordingly, asked to report on the nature of the programme for fodder cultivation in the block areas and the extent of progress recorded.

3.5.1. *Fodder cultivation.*—In ten to twelve of the blocks studied by us no definite programme has been undertaken to increase the acreage under fodder crops. It has been reported that in one or two of these blocks there is no need for the extension of fodder cultivation, because of the availability of sufficient grazing land and pasture. But schemes for increasing the acreage under fodder crops are under consideration in three blocks. On the other hand, in three other blocks where no such definite scheme has been taken in hand, there have been reports of a decline in fodder acreage in recent years as a result of the increasing pressure of population and the diversion of acreage to food and cash crops.

3.5.2. From the replies received it is possible to say that in four of the 18 blocks there has been systematic and serious emphasis on the programme for expanding fodder cultivation. The measures taken in these blocks include : (i) the establishment of a nursery at the block headquarters, (ii) the setting up of targets of acreage to be brought under fodder cultivation within specified periods, (iii) the supply of improved varieties of fodder seed, and (iv) the introduction of new crops. The extent of progress achieved is not, however, uniform among these four blocks. Only one of these reports self-sufficiency in fodder requirements achieved by 1958-59.

3.5.3. The progress in respect of fodder cultivation has been very uneven and mainly confined to the northern and the western parts of the country. In the more highly populated areas, of the east and the south, the programme does not seem to have made much headway because of the increasing competition for cultivated land for food and

cash crops. The general attitude of the people in the former areas is to prefer locally grown fodder crops, with which only they are familiar. Attempts to introduce new fodder crops like lucerne and berseem have not proved successful in some of these areas. The failure has, in some cases, been ascribed to inadequate consideration given to the agronomic requirements of the crops.

3.6.0. *Disease control and veterinary aid.*—The maintenance of the health of livestock requires adequate and easily accessible provisions for effective veterinary aid, on the one hand, and the willingness of the people to avail of it, on the other. Hospitals, dispensaries and first-aid centres are the principal types of institutions which provide veterinary aid. There is great variation in the standard of the aid available in the institutions going by the same name not only in different blocks but also in the same block. Not much of significance can, therefore, be attached to these differences in names.

3.6.1. The block extension officers in every block undertake inoculation and vaccination of livestock. Besides, every block* has some institution or other extending veterinary aid. In some blocks the VLWs have been trained in the treatment of cattle and provided with first-aid boxes or medicine chests. In some blocks such boxes are kept with panchayats. In short, facilities for the prevention and treatment of livestock diseases have been created in some form or other in all the blocks.

3.6.2. The efficiency of institutions is an important factor determining the standard of veterinary aid in different blocks. It will be interesting to note some measures suggested by the reports received from investigators to improve the effectiveness of veterinary service. In some blocks, institutions are not conveniently accessible to a large number of villages and there is need to open more dispensaries or stockmen centres. In the meantime, medicine chests may be kept with the panchayats or the VLWs. In some blocks, the dispensaries need to be better equipped with instruments and medicines. Similarly, care is needed to ensure that medicine chests are replenished in time. Better supervision of the dispensaries and centres is another measure which calls for attention. In some blocks more effective measures are being taken in this direction.

3.6.3. In some blocks measurable progress has been recorded in the inoculation and vaccination of livestock. Mass inoculation against rinder-pest was carried out during the

*Information for one block is not available.

last six months by the Veterinary Department through trained Gram Sevaks in one block and by the Rinder-pest Eradication Unit or by a peripatetic team of doctors of the Government of India in others. This has been instrumental in checking the disease which was causing a heavy mortality. In general, the people in all the blocks are willing to avail themselves of veterinary aid if it is available in time and without much trouble.

Other forms of animal husbandry, poultry and fishing

3.7.1. *Poultry*.—Next in importance to the schemes for the improvement of cattle population are those which relate to the development of poultry in the rural area. Attempts have been made to popularise poultry-keeping fairly generally in all the blocks under study, except in two where no steps have yet been taken. In all the other blocks, the programme has been implemented with varying degrees of effort and success.

3.7.2. The steps taken for the popularisation of poultry-keeping among villagers do not fall into any uniform pattern in different blocks. In some, poultry farms have been set up and improved chicks as well as eggs from these distributed. In some others, the birds and the eggs have been obtained from outside. In some other blocks demonstration units have also been set up at the village level. The usual method of distribution involves a subsidy ranging up to 50 per cent of the cost of the eggs.

3.7.3. Most of the blocks seem to have done fairly intensive propaganda and publicity to popularise poultry-keeping among the villagers. In spite of such intensive campaign, however, the programme in respect of birds does not show a uniformly high level of achievement in the blocks. The most important difficulty that the programme seems to have run into in many areas is the heavy casualty among the birds soon after their distribution. This heavy casualty has been caused by a number of factors like epidemics and diseases, lack of suitable sheds and pens for the birds and inadequate and unscientific care and maintenance. In many of the blocks the targets fixed for the distribution of eggs and improved birds have not been fully achieved.

3.7.4. However, popularisation of poultry birds is linked also to the dietary habits of the population. Thus, for example, in four of the blocks where the majority of the population are vegetarian the scope for extension of poultry-keeping is very limited. The of immediate achievement of this programme in these areas has, there-

fore, to be viewed against the perspective of the basic beliefs and attitude of the people, which are not susceptible of ready change. The importance of his consideration is seen clearly in one of the blocks where the limiting factor does not operate. Poultry-keeping has been so popular there that the villagers have started buying improved eggs at full price and have even gone to the point of using an incubator located in a neighbouring village to hatch the eggs.

3.8.1. *Sheep, goats and pigs.*—Programmes for the development of piggeries and the improvement of sheep and goats have each been undertaken in only three blocks. To assess the position, it should be remembered that in 12 blocks sheep development programmes form a part of the block or departmental plans for the area and in two more blocks there is scope for such a programme. The corresponding numbers for the goat and piggeries programmes are 8 and 4 blocks, and 5 and 2 blocks respectively. In one or two other blocks schemes are under consideration for the improvement of goats.

3.8.2. The methods used in these fields include subsidised distribution of male animals and arrangements for disease control as well as for the prevention of infection and epidemics. Our general impression is that none of the blocks where these items of activity have been taken in hand seems to be going ahead with further plans for their expansion. The result has been that no noticeable improvement in the quality of the animals or their performance has yet been recorded.

3.9.1. *Fishery.*—Only eight of the 18 blocks have so far taken specific steps to develop fisheries, as against a total of 15 blocks in which there is scope for the fisheries programme. The steps taken usually include the supply of fish spawns and fingerlings to individual villagers, either free or on subsidy. In some of the blocks the Fishery Departments of the State Governments have also undertaken to maintain nurseries and stocking tanks. It is significant that in two or three of the blocks, schemes for the development of pisciculture have also led to the re-excavation and renovation of old tanks.

3.9.2. The general picture of the state of activities in this field is not satisfactory. In the older blocks where schemes for the development of pisciculture had been undertaken in the initial period with great enthusiasm, the tempo of work slowed down perceptibly with the inauguration of the post-intensive phase of the stage—II with the result that the supply of spawns and fries has decreased.

ed in some areas and the tanks and ponds have not been repaired and renovated regularly. One important difficulty that the fisheries scheme in many blocks seems to have been facing is the conflict of jurisdiction between different departments and the blocks. Report has been received from one block that the development of pisciculture is still regarded as outside the purview of the block. In one or two blocks tanks which are under the control of the Irrigation Department have not been made available to the block administration for pisciculture. In any case, with the small staff available to the department the State Governments have not been able to devote enough resources to this item of the development programme.

4. Organisation and distribution of supplies

4.0.1. *Introduction.*—Extension efforts include not only the provision of information and education, but also of the supplies required to improve rural enterprises. The adoption of improved practices, methods and technology is made possible in the end by the facilities available to the cultivators to secure supplies of improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, improved implements etc. It is for this reason that an attempt has been made by us to study the nature of the supply facilities existing in the block areas in 1959.

4.0.2. The efficiency of the distribution and supply system has been assessed in terms of five criteria, namely, accessibility, adequacy, timeliness, quality and price. Our investigators were instructed to enquire about the nature and number of agencies in the blocks supplying improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and improved implements and to assess their efficiency.

4.1.1. *Types of distributing agencies: seeds.*—Fourteen out of the 18 blocks in the sample have only one type of agency for the distribution of improved seeds, the remaining 4 being covered by 2 types of agencies operating concurrently. Of the 14 blocks in which there is only one agency, 7 are covered by the block, functioning as an agency for the distribution of improved seeds, 5 by the co-operatives and 2 by the Agriculture Department. Of the other 4 blocks, in each of which there are 2 agencies, one is covered by a co-operative and the panchayat, another by the co-operatives and the Agriculture Department and the remaining two by the Department and the block. It appears, thus, that the distribution of improved seeds has been largely undertaken by the block staff. The co-operatives and the Agriculture Department are the other important agencies.

4.1.2. *Fertilizers*.—In 14 of the 18 blocks in the sample, distribution of fertilizers is carried on by only one type of agency. In the remaining 4 blocks, there are two types of agencies each, the first agency being the co-operative in all cases and the second the block itself in two cases, the panchayat in the third and the Agriculture Department in the fourth. In 15 of the 18 blocks, co-operatives have been entrusted with the distribution of fertilizers. Of the other 3, two are covered by the Agriculture Department, and one by private traders. It seems that there has been a fairly large increase in the coverage of the blocks by the co-operative societies as far as distribution of fertilizers is concerned.

4.1.3. *Pesticides*.—In one of the 18 blocks, no arrangement has been reported for the distribution of pesticides. Among the 17 in which arrangements have been found to exist, 12 are covered by only one type of agency, 4 by two types of agencies, and one by three. Among the blocks covered by one agency only, co-operative accounts for 3, the block office for 5, the Agriculture Department for 3 and the panchayat for one. As regards the 5 blocks in which there are more than one agency, co-operatives form a common agency in four of them, and are supplemented by the Department and private traders in one block, the V.L.Ws, the panchayat and the Department in each of the other 3 respectively. It appears, therefore, that in respect of the supply of pesticides, co-operatives, blocks and the Department are almost of equal importance. If, however, the facilities provided by the block and the Department are put together it will be seen that these two agencies serve the largest number of the blocks in the sample.

4.1.4. *Improved implements*.—There is no organisation or agency to supply improved implements in 6 of the 18 blocks. Of the blocks in which such agencies exist, 10 are covered by only one type of agency, 4 by the block office, 4 by private traders and 2 by the Agriculture Department. Two blocks in which improved implements are supplied by more than one agency the Agriculture Department, the co-operative and the V.L.Ws have been reported to be responsible for this function.

4.1.5. The information given in the last few paragraphs is summarized in Table 1.5. It will appear that all the agencies have participated in the distribution of each of these commodities in the blocks, except the panchayats which have not taken up distribution of improved implements in any block. It should be added that the information in respect of private traders is incomplete.

Table 1.5

Distribution of blocks by number of supply agencies and their nature

Agency	Number of blocks having the distribution programmes				
	Seeds	Fertilizers	Pesticides	Implements	
1	2	3	4	5	
No Agency	..	..	1	6	
One Agency	14	14	12	10	
Two Agencies	4	4	4	2	
More than two Agencies	..	..	1	..	
TOTAL	18	18	18	18	
Cooperatives	7	15	7	1	
Block Office	9	2	7	5	
Department	5	3	6	4	
Panchayat	1	1	2	Nil	
Trader	Nil	1	1	4	

It also appears from these figures that co-operative societies have been the most common agency for the distribution of fertilizers and the least for implements. The block offices have been used most widely for the distribution of seeds and least for fertilizers. The Agriculture Departments have been responsible for the distribution of pesticides, seeds and even implements in a number of blocks, though to a smaller extent than the co-operatives or the blocks. It appears from this picture that the Agriculture Department is still functioning outside the scope of the block administration in respect of supply functions in a number of areas and the block and the Department together account for the largest number of supply agencies in the blocks studied. Another feature of the distribution system is that there is no block in which the work is being done by any one agency only for all the commodities. Different agencies have been used concurrently in the same block even for the same commodity. There are, however, one or two instances of one agency, either the block office or the co-operatives undertaking the distribution of these commodities, supplemented by other agencies.

4.2.0. *Accessibility*.—Accessibility depends on the number of supply points on the one hand and the number of villages as well as their contiguity and compactness on the other. In blocks where there is only one supplying centre—usually located at the block headquarters—the position in respect of accessibility is likely to be very unfavourable for most villages. Multiplicity as well as

dispersion of supply points are, thus, essential from the point of view of accessibility. The area and compactness vary from block to block and it is not possible to generalize about the accessibility merely from the number of supply centres.

4.2.1. In 11 of the 18 blocks, the centres of supply for the commodities studied are considered to be within the easy reach of the cultivators. In some cases this has been found to be true even though the supply centre is located only at the block headquarters because the villages in the block happen to be within a small radius of the headquarters.

4.2.2. The supply centres in 7 blocks are not considered within the easy reach of most villages; there is only one store at the block headquarter. The situation can be improved in these blocks by opening a number of sub-depots or entrusting distribution to V.L.Ws or by establishing co-operative societies at the village level. In one of these blocks at least, action in this direction has been reported to be under contemplation.

4.3.0. *Adequacy*.—The criterion of adequacy is necessarily relative. Thus, even when supplies are adequate to meet the purchases actually made, it does not necessarily mean adequacy for the needs of the area. For, even though the people may need more supplies, they may be deterred from going to the supply centres by reasons like inaccessibility, dissatisfaction with quality, absence of credit facilities, high prices etc. The question of adequacy or inadequacy is thus linked with the other criteria of efficiency of the distribution system. In our study, we have adopted a very simple definition of adequacy, namely, existence of supplies in quantities adequate to meet the requirements of persons reporting for purchase. It may be added here that this assessment is independent of the one attempted for a narrower field in the section on agriculture.

4.3.1. In 10 of the 18 blocks in the sample, supplies at the government distribution centres in 1959 were reported to have been adequate to meet the actual demand made on them. In one or two of these, however, there have been partial shortages of rabi seeds. It has been reported by our investigators, however, that the level of demand at the government distribution centres in 4 of these 10 blocks was very low. The reasons for this relatively low demand include lack of credit facilities, relatively high prices and inaccessibility on account of the distances involved. Most of these reasons operated against a higher level of demand for improved seeds. In fact, it appears from our enquiry that the demand for seeds varies considerably from block

to block, depending not only on the prices but also on factors like availability in markets, etc.

4.3.2. A total of 8 blocks experienced shortage of supplies of one or more of the commodities studied by us, in spite of the fact that the cultivators in some of the blocks go also to the markets and the other sources for obtaining them. In all but two of these blocks, the commodity in short supply has been seeds. In at least 2 of these blocks, there has also been a considerable shortage in the supply of fertilizers. It is difficult, however, to assess the adequacy in respect of supplies of fertilizers because there is, in most areas, some supply available at the market. Unfortunately, we have received a few reports about black market prices having been charged for fertilizers by some traders. In at least 1 block, black-marketing has been encouraged to a certain extent by the mal-distribution of supplies among contiguous districts, arising mainly from relative lack of correlation of supply with demand in the districts.

4.4.1. *Timeliness.*—In half the blocks studied by us, there have been complaints regarding delay in the receipt of supplies of one or more of the commodities under study. In 4 of these 9 blocks, the complaints related to seed only, in one to fertilizers only, in 3 to both seeds and fertilizers and in one to fertilizers and insecticides. It should be added here that this delay did not necessarily occur in respect of the entire supply of all kinds of seeds or fertilizers. In one case, the complaint related to paddy seeds; in another to potato seeds; and in a third to seeds of rabi crops.

4.5.1. *Quality.*—General dis-satisfaction with the quality of one or more of the commodities supplied has been expressed in the villages in 4 blocks. The poor quality was ascribed to the deterioration in storage, and in some cases also to the variety. Complaints regarding the quality of fertilizers related mainly to the paddy fertilizer mixture. It has been reported also that the sample checking, by the Agricultural Department, of the fertilizers supplied to the cultivators can be improved considerably with a view to redressing this grievance.

4.6.1. *Prices.*—Again in half the blocks, there was a feeling that the prices charged for one or more of the commodities were high. In 3 blocks this feeling has been expressed in respect of fertilizer prices, in 3 of seeds only, in 2 seeds, fertilizers and pesticides and in one implements and fertilizers. It should be remembered in this connection that the level of the price of fertilizers was judged by the farmers probably in the light of the prices at which they purchased the bulk of their supplies, usually from the market (in some cases at the black-market prices). Even

then, however, at least in 2 blocks, there have been complaints about the prices at which fertilizers are supplied by the government depots. Another complaint in respect of fertilizers relates to the weighing of the supplies at the time of sale. It has been reported that the depot holder often insists on selling only full bags which have been found to contain, in a number of cases, less than the specified quantity.

4.6.2. It seems from our survey that high prices are standing in the way of a larger use of insecticides to a much greater extent than of seeds. In general, it may be said that the use of fertilizer has spread much more rapidly than that of improved seeds, even though there have been reports of shortages of the latter in some blocks. Price is, therefore, not as much the determining factor in the case of fertilizers as in the case of either seeds or insecticides or pesticides.

4.7.1. The brief review given above throws one or two points into sharp focus. In the first place, it seems that the distribution system in respect of fertilizers, insecticides, improved seeds and improved implements leaves considerable scope for improvement in almost all the blocks in one or more respects. Thus, improvements can be effected in regard to timeliness and prices in at least half the blocks studied; adequacy and accessibility in about one-third and quality in about one-fifth. Our investigation shows that there are only 2 blocks from which no shortcomings in respect of supplies have been reported. In both these areas, distribution of supplies is largely in the hands of co-operative societies, supplemented by the Agricultural Department. In 3 blocks there have been reports of shortcomings in at least three respects and in another 3, in four respects. Finally, it may be mentioned that the blocks have not yet been able to administer all the functions of supply and distribution, many of which are still in the hands of the departments of the State Governments and except in respect of fertilizers, the blocks have not yet fully succeeded in entrusting the job to co-operatives.

5. Village Industries

5.0.1. A detailed study of the Pilot Projects in cottage industries was conducted by us in 1958-59 and reported in the Sixth Evaluation Report (1959). No attempt has been made to cover the ground again in the present report. Besides, only two of the blocks investigated this year belonged to the sample of the last year's study. Our investigation this time was designed to obtain some general data

on the nature of the village and small-scale industries existing in the 18 blocks under study and to assess the impact of the measures taken either to introduce new crafts and industries or to develop the ones existing in these areas. The study could not be made very intensive within the short time available to us.

5.0.2. *Pilot projects.*—Five of the 18 blocks under study fall within the pilot project areas for cottage industries. These projects were started in early 1956, had worked for about 4 years by the time this study was made, and are scheduled to complete their term by April, 1961. One of the important aims of these projects was to promote the development of industries in the selected areas in a planned, integrated and intensive manner, and to provide experience for the working of this programme in other areas. For this purpose, each project was divided into a number of area and advisory committees were formed for each area as well as for the whole project. A Community Project Officer (Industries) with three Extension Officers, one for each block, was also provided. At the State level, a Coordination Committee was set up. The most important items* of work assigned to these projects are:

- (1) the setting up of demonstration or production-cum-training centres;
- (2) the distribution of short-term loans to artisans under the schemes of various All-India Boards;
- (3) conducting industrial potential surveys;
- (4) the organisation of industrial cooperatives;
- (5) the development of marketing facilities; and
- (6) the establishment of small industrial estates.

5.1.1. *Existing crafts.*—As the development programme for industries has to be related to the type of crafts and industries which are either existing or can be developed in an area, information was first gathered as to which crafts were being practised in the selected blocks. Some craft or other has been found to exist in every block, in seven blocks one to three crafts and in the other eleven, 5 to 12 crafts/industries. There is thus scope for some work in this field in every block. Hand-loom weaving, found in 15 blocks, is the most common craft, followed by smithy in

*In the outline of our study, we did not ask the PEOs to offer specific comments on the progress made in respect of these programmes in the pilot projects. Even in regard to other blocks, it has not been possible to gather information on the progress made during the entire period of the block in some cases.

12, tanning and carpentry each in 11, bamboo work in 10 and pottery in 9 blocks. It is, however, not only the number of crafts in a block, that matters, but also their extent, concentration and suitability. Unfortunately, we did not have time enough to go into these aspects. These six may, however, be regarded as the most important crafts. Other industries, such, as tailoring, oil pressing, brick-making, rope-making, spinning, match-making, brass or metal work, gur-making, hand pounding of rice and coir-making are found in 1 to 3 blocks only.

5.1.2. *Introduction of new crafts.*—In some areas, there may be scope for introducing new crafts other than the traditional ones. Such possibilities need to be explored. In some blocks new crafts have been introduced during the block period. For example, during the pilot project period, the making of dolls, lacquer toys and glass toys was introduced as a craft in one block; and in another soap-making and oil pressing. Bee-keeping, Ambar Charkha, mat-weaving, making of nylon sets for fishing, tanning with the help of improved techniques and making of parts of sewing machines are other crafts or small industries which were introduced in one or more blocks.

5.2.1. *Methods.*—The general approach to the development of village industries has been to make arrangements for training in arts and crafts, technical guidance, procurement of raw materials and equipment, credit to the artisans and marketing of their products. Organisation of industrial cooperatives has been taken up in many blocks in the hope that these will play an important part at least in regard to the supply of raw materials, the provision of credit and the improvement of marketing conditions. The following table shows the number of blocks in which something or other has been done in respect of the above programmes :

Programme	No. of blocks
Training	15*
Supply of raw materials and equipment .	12†
Provision of credit	17*
Marketing	9*
Organisation of industrial cooperatives .	16†

*Information not available for 1 block.

†Information not available for 2 blocks.

5.3.1. *Trainings*.—The training of artisans is a very common activity of the blocks in this field. It has been envisaged as an important programme from the very beginning. Provision was, therefore, made for training-cum-production centres in the community projects of the first series. Training is imparted in the crafts in vogue or being developed in an area. Some stipend is generally given to the trainees. The period of training and the amount of the stipend vary among the blocks. In some areas the All-India Commissions and Boards have participated in this work. In some the mobile vans of the Small Industries Service Institute have given demonstrations in the use of improved techniques. It has, however, been noticed in some blocks that many persons join these centres for the sake of the stipend only and do not follow the trade or the craft later.

5.3.2. One of the purposes of these centres is to impart training in the new techniques. How far this object has been fulfilled is shown by the extent to which improved techniques have been introduced in the blocks. In 9 blocks no new techniques are reported to have been introduced. In two of these nine no training programme was conducted. In the other 9 blocks some headway has reportedly been made in this direction. Some of the new techniques introduced in these blocks are use of automatic take-up motion attachment, frame looms, improved wheels and furnaces for pottery, winnowing fans, Wardha type of oil ghanis and Ambar Charkha.

5.4.1. *Supply of raw materials and equipment*.—Some steps have been taken to facilitate the supply of raw materials and equipment to the village industries in 12 of the 16 blocks for which information is available. The most common assistance has been in the form of loans. Almost all agencies working in this field have provided them. The more important ones are the cooperatives, the block and the Industries Department of the State Governments; the latter extending credit under the State Aid to Industries Acts. Sometimes, loans are available from more than one source. The authorities have also helped the artisans in one or two blocks by fixing quotas of scarce raw materials such as copper, or by arranging hire-purchase of equipments like sewing machines, or by procuring bulk supplies and distributing them through the cooperatives. In some cases, a subsidy for the purchase of tools and equipments has also been provided.

5.5.1. *Provision of credit*.—Measures have been adopted in all blocks to improve general credit facilities to artisans not only for purchase of raw materials, but for all other

purposes. Loans have been distributed through co-operatives or by the Department of Industries. In a few cases the All-India Boards and Commissions and the blocks have also provided loans.

5.5.2. The distribution of the 17 blocks, for which we have this information, by the number of agencies providing loans to artisans is shown below.

Table 1.6

Distribution of blocks by number and nature of credit agencies

No. of agency	No. of blocks	Name of Agency			
		Cooper- ative	Block	Depart- ment	All-India Board/ Com- missions
I	2	3	4	5	6
I.	II	4	2	4	I
2.	3	2	I	2	I
3.	3	3	—	3	3
TOTAL	17	9	3	9	5

In the 11 blocks where there is only 1 agency, it is the cooperative in 4, the Department in 4, the block in 2 and the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission in 1. In the 3 blocks served by two agencies each; the co-operative and the Department functioned in 2 each, and the block and the Board/Commission in one each. As far 3 blocks with three agencies functioning in each, these were cooperatives, the Department and the Board/Commission in each. It appears from this distribution that credit facilities were provided in the largest number of blocks by the cooperatives and the department. These were followed by the All-India Boards/Commissions and the block in that order. This ranking, however, does not give an idea of the relative amounts of credit provided by the different agencies. In many cases, there is obviously need for coordinating the various lending agencies and for

better supervision by these to ensure the proper utilization of the loans.

5.5.3. Marketing.—Arrangements of some sort for the marketing of goods produced by artisans have been found to exist in about half the blocks. About the other half, information is not available for 1 and no need for a special organisation has been reported in 2. Depots and emporia have been opened in seven blocks by the Department or cooperative associations. Besides, stalls are generally put up at exhibitions and fairs. Cooperative marketing organisations have been functioning in three of the nine blocks.

6. Health

6.1.1. Health problems.—The first point of our investigation in the field of medical and public health activities in the blocks relates to the important problems of health in these areas. No special health problem was reported from 5 blocks. But even there the general lack of sanitary habits, and malnutrition due to ignorance and poverty are aspects of the health problem which call for attention. .

6.1.2. In 10 blocks inadequacy of suitable drinking water is considered to be the most important problem. The reasons for this vary. In some blocks, the drinking water wells are mostly kutcha and insanitary. In some others, many people still draw drinking water from river beds or use step-wells and other wells which are no better than pits. In one block the sub-soil water in the wells rises almost to the surface during the rainy season and gets contaminated by the running water. In another there is no possibility of striking drinking water at a reasonable depth in about one-third of the block area. In the remaining two-thirds of the area, it is available only at a great depth, thereby rendering the construction of wells very costly. Cattle, which are used for drawing water, are not available in the busy seasons, with the result that the people have to use accumulated rain water.

6.1.3. The second in importance is the insanitary and unhygienic conditions in the villages. This was recognised as a problem in 6 blocks. Absence of latrines and inadequacy of medical aid were each recognised as an important problem in three blocks (not identical ones for the two problems). Malaria and leprosy came next in order of importance. Each of these two diseases constitutes a serious problem separately in two blocks. The other health problems include goitre, filaria, small-pox, guinea-worm and lack of drainage. One may add to these the non-acceptance of **preventive measures** by the village people.

A list of these problems showing the number of blocks from which they were reported is given below:—

Name of problem	No. of blocks where existing
1. Inadequacy of drinking water.	10
2. Environmental insanitation	6
3. Absence of latrines	3
4. Inadequacy of medical aid	3
5. Malaria	2
6. Leprosy	2
7. Goitre	1
8. Lack of drainage system	1
9. Filaria	1
10. Non-acceptance of preventive measures	1
11. Small-pox	1
12. Guinea-worm	1

Effective tackling of these problems requires action in various fields, the more important of which are: improvement in rural water-supply, construction of latrines and drains, provision of facilities for inoculation, vaccination and medical aid. The position of the different blocks in respect of these measures for improvement is reported below.

6.2.1. *Rural water-supply.*—Construction of wells, installation of pumps, laying of pipes are some of the important measures taken to solve the problem of rural water supply. Programmes for improving the rural water supply were taken up in all the selected areas during the block period. In 3 blocks, the position in regard to water supply is now fairly satisfactory as a result of the construction and renovation of an adequate number of drinking water wells during the project period. In one of these blocks, 16 villages have pipe-water supply with pumping sets. In another block, where water supply had been an acute problem, a large number of wells was constructed during the community development phase. As a result, safe drinking water is available in almost all villages. But, there is no arrangement for regular chlorination and disinfection of these wells. It is understood that in most blocks, the

arrangements for chlorination are made only during epidemics.

6.2.2. In the other 15 blocks, the problem is being tackled through the installation of hand-pumps, construction and repair of ring wells, filter-point wells and ordinary wells. Financial assistance for these works was provided generally on a contributory basis. Public projects have also been undertaken in some blocks. For instance, in one block, the Public Health Engineering Department and the rural panchayats took up this programme. The former executed two big water supply projects. The approximate cost of running these schemes is expected to be Rs. 1,100 per month, which can be reduced to Rs. 600 if electricity is made available. Provision has, however, been made for meeting the running costs for a short period only.

6.2.3. In some blocks, efforts have been rather on a modest scale; in some, wells have not been dug deep enough. The principal impediment in most areas is that people do not still attach enough importance to hygienic water. In some blocks, the participation of the people has not been forthcoming. In some, the facilities that exist are not used fully and properly, as people do not care to take the responsibility for the maintenance and/or disinfection of wells or the repair of hand-pumps.

6.3.1. *Improved latrines.*—Attempts have been made in all the blocks to popularise improved latrines by educating people in the advantage of such latrines and extending assistance to individuals for their construction. Such assistance has been given in cash or in the form of free supply of materials like latrine slabs. Attempts have also been made in some areas to introduce public latrines. Public latrines have been constructed in 5 blocks only.

6.3.2. Different types of latrines have been tried in different places, e.g., dug-well, trench and bore-hole. In one block, the gopuri type of latrines which, besides serving as latrines, produce valuable manure, has been recommended. These were constructed by the panchayats in a few villages with their own as well as block funds.

6.3.3. Improved latrines have not become popular practically anywhere. The attempts to popularize the public latrines have not also met with success, except to some extent. In one block where the panchayat has engaged a sweeper in one village and in another where automatic flush type latrines have been constructed in one village, the public latrines have proved somewhat popular.

Maintenance of public latrines in a clean state seems, therefore, to be the crucial issue.

6.3.4. It seems that the most important reason for the tardy progress has been the reluctance of the people to give up their age old habits and to appreciate the need for latrines. Provision of facilities for removing dirt and night soil, coupled with intensive latrine promotion and health education campaign by the block people, seem to be the essential pre-requisites for the success of this programme.

6.4.1. *Drains.*—Construction of improved drains has received fairly wide attention. The programme has been taken up in 13 out of 18 or in about two-thirds of the blocks. In 2 out of 5 blocks, where it has not been taken up, it is not considered necessary for local reasons.

Medical facilities:

6.5.1. *Control of epidemics.*—Epidemics occurred in 1959 only in 3 of the selected blocks. Cholera broke out in 15 villages of one block covering 191 villages. Small-pox and cholera broke out in another block during the period of our enquiry. In the third, small-pox prevailed in endemic form throughout the block area and during its season assumed an epidemic form in some villages causing fairly heavy mortality. Anti-epidemic and protective measures like inoculation, vaccination etc. were adopted promptly in these blocks to bring the situation under control. The measures proved very effective except in one block where the difficulty of communication with the district headquarters affected the campaign. It has also been reported that people do not always cooperate adequately with the health officials.

6.5.2. Some blocks have recorded striking progress in combating epidemics and other diseases and reducing both frequency and incidence. Malaria has been controlled to a great extent in 4 blocks. Steps have been taken to control goitre, filaria and leprosy in one block. Surveys have been conducted to ascertain the incidence of these diseases and units for combating them have been set up at the district and the block levels. Anti-leprosy work has made good progress in this block, thanks also to the efforts of the Kusht Seva Ashram (a non-official agency).

6.6.0. *Hospitals, dispensaries and other health institutions.*—The medical facility in an area depends on the available health institutions, e.g. of hospitals, dispensaries, primary health centres and sub-centres.

6.6.1. Medical facility of some sort or other is available in all the blocks. Dispensaries are fairly common. 14 or 77 per cent of the blocks have got 30 dispensaries of western medicine and 20 of the Ayurvedic and the Unani systems. Besides, one block has only Unani and Ayurvedic dispensaries. The distribution of the blocks by the number of dispensaries is shown below:—

No. of blocks	No. of dispensaries per block
8	1
2	2
1	3
3	5
<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>

These are public dispensaries, except 3 in one block. One-third of the selected blocks have got more than 1 dispensary and about 16 per cent have got 5 each.

6.6.2. There are 16 primary health centres in 10 blocks, 9 have 1 each and 1 has 7. The target of at least one primary health centre per block, fixed in April, 1958, has not been attained in 8 out of 18 or in 45 per cent of the blocks studied. None of these is less than 3 years old; 2 belong to the first series and are over 7 years old. Among those not having a health centre, one has got one hospital, another has got 2 and the third 3 hospitals. The primary health centres are proposed to be started shortly in 2 of these blocks.

6.6.3. Seven blocks have got 12 hospitals as shown below:

No. of blocks	No. of hospitals per block
3	1
3	2
1	3
<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>

Where there is only 1 hospital, it is usually located at the block headquarters.

6.6.4. In order to make medical facilities more accessible to the villagers, 9 blocks have opened sub-centres or out-posts in which first-aid and other elementary medical services are available. In all, there are 37 sub-centres, the number per block varying from 2 to 9. Of the remaining 7, 4 have 3 each, 1 has 4 and 2 have 5 each. In some blocks, the VLWs have been provided with medicine chests.

6.6.5. The blocks vary widely in respect of medical facilities. One block has got only a primary health centre and another a dispensary. On the other hand, 2 blocks have got all the four institutions, primary health centres, dispensaries, hospitals and sub-centres, and 6 have got 3 of these.

6.6.6. An attempt has been made by us to study the extent of coverage of the population by these institutions. The indicators used by us are the population per hospital and dispensary combined and per institution of all types (hospital, dispensary, health centre and sub-centre) in the block areas. Summary figures showing the distribution of the blocks are given below. It appears that in the 15 blocks with hospitals and dispensaries, the average coverage of an institution of any of these two types is 34.5 thousand persons (1951). Two-thirds of these blocks show a figure of less than 40 thousand, and nearly one-half below 30 thousand. The average would thus have been much lower but for 4 blocks at the other end.

Population (000) per hospital or dispensary	No. of blocks
Below 10	1
10—20	3
20—30	3
30—40	3
40—50	1
Over 50	4
Average 34.5	15

As regards the population catered by medical or health institutions of any type, the indicator shows a much better position, the average population covered being 15.2 thousand in the 18 blocks. The average would have been much

lower but for 3 blocks showing as high a figure as above 50 thousand. The distribution is as follows:

Population (ooo) per institution of any type					No. of blocks
Below	10	.	.	.	4
	10—20	.	.	.	6
	20—30	.	.	.	5
Above	50	.	.	.	3
<hr/>					<hr/>
Average	15.2	.	.	.	18
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6.7.1. *Maternity and child welfare centres.*—Maternity and child welfare centres exist in 12 or two-thirds of the blocks. In 4 of the other 6, maternity and child welfare service is available either at the hospital or at one or more of the health centres or sub-centres. The total number of these centre in the 12 blocks is 30. Their distribution in these blocks is shown below:

No. of blocks	No. of centres per block
6	1
2	2
2	3
1	5
1	9
<hr/>	
12	2.5
<hr/>	

Some blocks have also got sub-centres, known as mid-wife-ry centres. In one or two blocks, maternity service is also available at the dispensaries or health centres. It is understood that the recent policy of the Government is to provide this service as an integral part of the activities of the health centres.

6.8.1. *Conclusion.*—To judge the adequacy of medical facilities, data are needed on a number of other aspects, namely, the quality, quantity and variety of medicines available in the health institutions, the strength and quali-

fications of their staff, the scatter of the villages they serve etc. It is obvious that blocks, which have just a dispensary or a primary health centre, are very badly off. Similarly, maternity services in 6 blocks, having merely one maternity centre each, usually at the block headquarters, can be taken as inadequate and in another 2, having no maternity service, still more so. In fact, even in some blocks, which are better off in respect of the number of institutions, medical facilities are regarded as inadequate. In the block having 9 maternity centres, maternity facilities are considered inadequate, perhaps because of the relatively higher level of health consciousness among the people.

6.8.2. Secondly, the existing standard of medical facilities in a block is not due wholly to the efforts made by the block or during the block period. Normal departments are also responsible, in varying degrees, for this programme practically everywhere. One of the primary health centres owes its high standard of service largely to the aid given by the UNICEF. In some blocks there has been little addition to the medical facilities during the block period. In one block even a deterioration in the standard of service available at the health centres reportedly occurred after it entered the post-intensive phase.

6.8.3. In conclusion, it may be said that health education is the most important desideratum. The assistance available with the blocks has not been availed of in many blocks as the requisite people's participation was not forthcoming. In one block, grants for the construction of gutters etc. were available to the panchayats but the people did not construct soak-pits to make the gutters effective. The progress of well construction also suffered on the same account. Secondly, in some blocks full use of facilities like drinking water wells, hospitals and dispensaries is not made, nor are they properly maintained. Installation of pucca and kutchra drains and inoculation and vaccination have also in some areas to fight against prevailing superstitions and ignorance. The programme of latrines has faced a similar obstacle in most areas.

7. Education

7.0.1. *Introduction.*—One of the fundamental aspects of the Community Development Programme is the education of the rural people. The education is supposed to be comprehensive and oriented to the needs of economic and social development of the rural areas through the democratic process. Attempts are being made to orient the activities and programmes of the educational institutions in the rural

areas in this direction. It was presumably to further this purpose that the Sixth Conference of Development Commissioners recommended the appointment of an Educational Sub-committee by every Block Advisory Committee. All the States have accepted the recommendation and taken steps to implement it. The States were also requested by the Conference to start pilot projects for universal primary education. In some of the blocks these projects have also been initiated.

7.0.2. Rural education covers too wide a field to be adequately evaluated in a short report. In fact we had some difficulty in delimiting the aspect or aspects of the educational effort which should be evaluated. We have naturally limited our enquiry only to those educational activities that formed the special features of the blocks. But these are not easily distinguishable from or independent of activities of the education department. And these activities are not confined to the blocks only nor are they the special features of the C. D. programme. Moreover, even within our limited field fundamental issues like the content of education could not be taken up and attention given mainly to available facilities, the rate of their extension, the nature and manner of their utilization, and the working of the extra-curricular programmes.

7.1.1. *Schools in the block areas.*—The 1959 Conference of Development Commissioners at Mysore made some specific recommendations regarding the role that schools should play in the promotion of the Community Development Programme. The Conference recommended that the schools should make a three-fold contribution: (i) provision of education to village children in accordance with the needs of rural life, (ii) extension of educational facilities to youth and adults during school hours and (iii) enlisting closer association of villagers to make the school a community centre. It appears that the rural school has been envisaged not only as an institution for the education of the village children, but also as a dynamic centre for the whole village community. Achievement of these objectives requires, in the first instance, the existence of schools either in, or within an easy reach of every village. Hence how far the block areas are equipped with schools has been the first point of our investigation.

7.1.2. An attempt has been made to assess the extent of coverage of the block areas by rural schools in Table 1.7. Figures in the table show the number of schools of different categories per village (1959) and per thousand of total population as well as per thousand school-going population (1951).

Table 1.7

No. of schools per village (1959) per thousand population (1951) and per thousand school going children (1951) by block

State	Block	Average number of schools				Others
		per village	per thousand of 1951 population	per thousand of school going children**	per thousand of 1951 population	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Assam	Hajo	1.26	1.79	12.4	0.39	
2 Bihar	Tajpur (Pusa)	0.81	0.90	10.7	0.43	
	Waziganj			6.6		
3 Bombay	Manavadar	0.27	0.54	3.7	0.16	
	Karvir	1.13	0.87	5.4	0.06	
	Morsi	1.00	0.74	4.6	0.03	
4 Kerala	Kazhakuttam	0.63	1.28	8.5	0.35	
5 M. P.	Ashia	1.10*	0.48	3.4	0.08	
6 Madras	Kalyarkoil	0.70	2.18	14.8	0.13	
7 Mysore	Hunsur	1.29	1.22	9.0	0.04	
8 Orissa	Binka	0.62	1.30	8.3	0.28	
9 Punjab	Batala	0.40	0.92	6.0	0.02	
	Bhadsion	0.54	0.83	5.5	0.09	
10 Rajasthan	Sanchoe	0.56	1.40	10.1	0.19	
	Tonk	0.52	0.93	6.2	0.02	
11 U. P.	Bhathat	0.27	0.95	6.9	0.04	
12 West Bengal	Mohd. Bazar	0.13	0.15	0.9	0.09	
		0.48	1.25	8.7	0.19	
All Blocks		0.62	1.03	6.8	0.13	

*. The school-going children here mean children in the age-group, 6-11 years as per 1951 Census data.

In 1959 there were, in the 18 blocks under study, a total of 1488 primary schools in an area covered by 2403 villages which were inhabited by 14.4 lakhs of people and 3.6 lakhs of school-going children in the age group, 6-11 years. These work out to an average of 0.6 primary schools per village and about 1.16 schools of all types covering every thousand of the population (1951). The number of primary schools per thousand population was, however, 1.03 and these catered, on an average, to 147 children in the school-going ages. It should be added here that the population figures relate to 1951 and are, therefore, lower than these for 1959. If the 1959 population had been taken into account, the indicators would have had much lower values.

7.1.3. The lowest number of primary schools per village (0.13) and per thousand population (0.15) as well as per thousand school-going children (0.9) have been reported from the Bhathat block in U.P., and the highest from Ashta, Madhya Pradesh (0.7, 2.18 and 14.8 respectively) and Porumamilla, Andhra (1.7, 1.9 and 12.4 respectively). The figures in Table 1.7 should, however, be interpreted with great caution. Thus, the Porumamilla block leads all others with a figure of 1.7 primary schools per village; but in Kazhakuttam (Kerala) there are 1.1 primary schools per Kara (ward) which means an average of about 4 primary schools per village. The main difficulty in making inter-block comparisons on the basis of these data arises from the fact that the averages shown against different blocks have been worked out on the basis of the revenue divisions which vary greatly in area and coverage of village in different parts of the country.

7.1.4. The number of schools cannot, however, be an index of their nature or their quality. In these two respects, wide variations have been observed among the blocks. In many blocks there are still a number of single-teacher schools. In 2 blocks a very large proportion of the schools have only one teacher each. In some cases the schools have been set up under trees, in cow-sheds or in the open "maidan". It is doubtful how long such schools will be able to keep the students on the registers and impart the necessary education, unless further classes are opened and additional teachers provided. The danger in having such single-teacher schools with one or two classes is that the children who pass out at the end of the first or the second year may easily relapse into illiteracy afterwards.

7.1.5. The average number of educational institutions other than primary schools in the blocks under study works out to 0.13 per thousand population (1951). They include middle schools, high schools etc. The number of such

schools per thousand population shows a variation from 0.02 in two blocks in Orissa and Rajasthan to 0.43 in a block in Bihar. In respect of these higher schools and institutions, there is thus more disparity among the blocks than in regard to primary schools.

7.2.1. *Conversion of primary schools into basic schools.*—The Mysore Conference recommended that all schools in rural areas should be basic-oriented. Attempts have been made by the State Governments to convert primary schools into basic schools during the last few years, though with varying degrees of effort.

7.2.2. Two hundred and six out of the 1488 primary schools in the 18 blocks or roughly 13.84% had been converted into basic schools upto January, 1960. In one block (Tajpur I), only 13 primary schools had been converted prior to 1959. Since then, however, all primary schools in this area have become basic-oriented and have started giving vocational training. Three other blocks have also recorded fairly high proportions of such conversion, Manavadar (67.7%), Porumamilla (56.5%) and Mohd. Bazar (40.3%). In 8 blocks not a single primary school has been converted into basic school upto the time of enquiry. Among these blocks, however, one (Morsi) has recorded a conversion of half of the 18 middle schools within its area.

7.2.3. It has been reported from many areas that this conversion has not fundamentally changed the syllabus. In most cases some craft has been introduced without much thought having been given to its local importance. Thus, in one block where 34 primary schools had been converted into basic schools during the C. D. phase, spinning and weaving were introduced as basic crafts. These were, however, not popular with the predominantly agricultural population who wished their children to be taught agriculture instead. In some other blocks crafts have reportedly been introduced without any provision for the regular supply of raw materials like cotton, yarn etc., with the result that the equipment has been lying idle and is, in some cases, in disrepair. The Mysore Conference suggested that some craft work should be introduced in all the schools and that in selecting it, attention should be given to its relationship with the environment. Evidently, this recommendation is not yet being properly implemented.

7.3.1. *Popularity of the schools.*—The increase or decrease in registration and attendance can be used as a measure of the popularity of educational institutions among the rural population. An attempt has been made to assess the popularity in 92 villages in 15 blocks. The relevant data are given in Table 1.8.

Table 1·8
Increase or decrease in attendance in schools in 1958-59
(BMS villages only)

Block	villages showing				
	Increase in attendance	Decrease in attendance		No change in attendance	
	No. of villages	Percentage increase	No	Percentage decrease	Number
I	2	3	4	5	6
1. Porumamilla .	5	5 to 10	1	NA	..
2. Wazirganj ..	6	24	..	..	..
3. Karvir .	3	12	1	9	..
4. Manavadar .	3	7 to 17	..	..	3
5. Morsi .	2*	12	2	12	1
6. Ashta .	10	12	..	..	..
7. Kalayarkoil .	5†	6	..	..	..
8. Hunsur .	6	9	..	..	..
9. Binka .	8	19	..	..	..
10. Batala .	4**	4	..	..	..
11. Bhadson .	1**	6	3	2	3
12. Sanchore .	3**	71	..	..	2
13. Tonk .	4**	50	..	..	1
14. Bhathat .	6	29	..	..	..
15. Mohd. Bazar .	7**	5	1	3	1

*One school in Pardi village showed an increase of 15 pupils, but not included here.

†Figures for 2 villages not available and in one village there is no school.

**No school in 2 villages in Batala, 1 village in Bhadson, 4 in Sanchore, 3 in Tonk and one in Mohd. Bazar.

7.3.2. It appears that the schools in 73 villages spread over the 15 blocks showed some improvement in attendance in 1958-59 over the previous year. There are, however, wide variations from block to block, in the extent of improvement from 4% and 5% in some to 50 per cent and 71% in others. The largest increase was recorded in the two blocks in Rajasthan where there was a vigorous "school challo abhiyan". The attendance in schools in these two blocks was previously reported to be very poor, because children were required to look after the cattle. It is not certain, therefore, if the increase resulting from the drive can be sustained later. In interpreting these figures, how-

ever, it is necessary to bear in mind, first, that in some cases the increase in attendance is largely due to the recent tendency on the part of the parents to send their daughters to schools, and secondly, that the proportion of children who had been attending schools varies widely from block to block, which makes it difficult for all blocks to record equally high rates of increase. Thus, one block reportedly has 71% of all children in school-going ages attending schools. Obviously the scope for further increase in school attendance or registration in such a block must be less than in others. Moreover, in the blocks where a very small order of increase has been reported, it is quite likely that a good part of the increase is merely due to proportionate increase of the population in the school-going ages.

7.3.3. A fall in attendance has been reported from 8 BMS villages spread over 5 blocks. There was no change in 11 villages in 6 blocks, these villages having no schools within their areas. The maximum drop in attendance has been of the order of 12% in 2 villages in one block, the decrease being ascribed to the preoccupation of children with farm and domestic work.

7.3.4. A slight improvement is noticed in the attendance of Harijan children at schools in most of the blocks. There is, however, no appreciable change in the number of Harijan boys registered in schools in three blocks and in one block a slight decline is reported, because some of the schools are located in temples where the Harijans have not yet obtained unrestricted entry. In some of the blocks, the increase in the attendance of Harijan children has been brought about largely by the aid given by the Government. In general, it may be said that attempts to attract increasing numbers of Harijan children into primary schools in the rural areas have not so far produced outstanding results. It has to be remembered in this connection that the Mussorie Conference of Development Commissioners (1957) recommended that attention should be specially given to help the education of people of the poorer and backward classes. The Conference also recommended that the block organisation should assume the responsibility for ensuring regular attendance of the maximum number of children in the rural schools. The data that we have collected do not suggest that much progress has been made in these respects.

7.4.1. *Recreational facilities.*—Facilities for games and recreation can help tremendously boost attendance in schools. Besides, the play ground provides wide scope for the development of leadership, team spirit and comrade-

ship necessary for all community effort. Our investigation shows that in 16 out of 17 blocks for which information is available, no extra effort was made to provide recreational facilities. Only in one block some additional facilities like foot-ball, ring-tennis, swing, slide and merry-go-round have been provided. In some other blocks the usual arrangements for play and recreation in the schools have continued. But in some of the blocks the sports and other equipment obtained, —sometimes with the help of a 50% subsidy from the block, —have not been maintained properly.

7.5.1. *Other services and amenities.*—The provision of free mid-day meals and skimmed milk powder in rural schools was two of the amenities on which some information was collected by us in the course of our investigation. Our enquiry reveals that skimmed milk powder is being distributed in some of the villages in 11 blocks. In the remaining 7 blocks, no such distribution has yet been undertaken. But in one of these villages, the TCM made some milk powder available to the schools through the VLW and the Panchayat Secretary. In another, the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the ladies' club and the panchayat have organised their distribution programme on a very limited scale.

7.5.2. In the 11 blocks in which milk is distributed in schools, very few villages have actually been covered by the scheme. Only in 2 blocks do all the primary schools distribute milk to the children. In some other schools the distribution is undertaken by the primary health centres. The extent of coverage is as low as 5 primary schools in a few blocks. Thus the supply of milk powder through this scheme is neither adequate nor is its distribution satisfactory. There seems to be no uniformity in the quantity supplied to each child, the quantity varying from 1 oz. in one block to as much as 1 lb. in another.

7.5.3. The provision of mid-day meals to school children has been carried out on an even more limited scale than the distribution of skimmed milk powder. Only 5 of the 18 blocks have reported arrangements for mid-day meals in some schools in their areas. The nature and frequency of such meals too vary considerably among the five blocks. In one the Panchayat Secretary in one village provides one meal every month. The best scheme is found in one block where children in 55 primary schools get regular mid-day meals. This number is likely to be increased in the near future. The main difficulty in the way of introduction or extension of the scheme seems to arise from the villagers' reluctance or inability to make the matching contribution.

7.5.4. Reports have been received from 6 blocks that child-play apparatus have been provided to a few villages. Some schools in 9 blocks have also received some type or other of games materials for children.

7.5.5. As regards educational equipments, some schools in six blocks only have received these from private organisations or the Education Department.

7.5.6. The recreational facilities and other amenities provided in the villages seem to be rather scanty. Most schools do not have them at all. Besides, materials once supplied are not regularly replaced and in many cases have become, unusable. Attention should be given to this aspect of the educational programme in the block area. It should be noted here that the Conferences of Development Commissioners in 1958 and 1959 specially recommended the provision of free mid-day meals and the distribution of skimmed milk powder to school children. They also recommended that a mid-day meals fund should be created out of villagers' contribution and that the panchayats accept the responsibility for the provision of educational amenities.

7.6.1. *The teachers' training in the philosophy and working of the C.D. programmes and their participation in it.*—The 1958 Conference of Development Commissioners recommended that "the village school teacher should be entrusted with the organisation of extension work in the villages such as adult literacy centres, reading rooms, libraries, recreational equipments and other types of social services for the benefit of the village community". An attempt has been made by us to see the extent to which this recommendation has been implemented in our blocks.

7.6.2. In only 6 of the 18 blocks has some knowledge of the philosophy and working of the C.D. programme been given to some of the village school teachers mainly through training and/or orientation camps or Shibirs. In one block, however, the instruction was imparted at the extension training centre. In general, the training has not been adequate, chiefly because there was no attempt to utilize the services of trained teachers. Moreover, there was lack of coordination between the block and the Education Department with the result that whatever training was imparted was not utilized. According to reports received by us only in one block have the teachers trained helped in the agricultural campaigns. In the other 12 centres no training camp has specifically been organised for the teachers, but some of the teachers in a few blocks attended camps elsewhere.

7.6.3. Reports from 13 blocks indicate that the village teachers do not take much interest in the C.D. programme though in a few blocks they help to a very limited extent in adult literacy classes. In the areas where school teachers have played some part, their activity has ranged over a wide field from mobilizing 'Shramdan' and supervising the construction of school buildings to taking active part in the Rabi and Kharif production campaigns and in other agricultural extension activities. In some blocks the teachers have also helped organize village leaders' training camps, libraries etc.

7.6.4. Reports have been received from a few blocks that a number of teachers are very critical of the community development programme. In one they are not convinced of its usefulness or necessity while in another they do not take any interest in developmental activities. This attitude seems to be due partly to the bureaucratic approach adopted by the block agency in its dealings with the teachers.

In short, our survey shows that in the majority of the blocks in our sample, the teachers in the village schools have not been given training in the philosophy and the working of the CD programme. In most of them, again, they have not so far shown much interest in the community development and other rural programmes, and in a few cases, they do not have even much faith. This is a pity, as the village school teachers can be a large source of energy, and enthusiasm for the CD programme.

8. Social education

8.0.1. The central purpose of the social education programme is to impart to the rural people community sense, corporate outlook and social consciousness. Social institutions such as the community centre, the women's organisation, the youth club, the adult literacy centre etc., have been organised for this purpose by the block staff. In fact, these activities were among the ones which received the largest emphasis in the C.D. programme in the initial stages. That is why the staff of the C.D. blocks have included from the beginning Social Education Organisers.

8.0.2. The scope of our enquiry is brief and restricted on one side to the position of the blocks in respect of the social education staff, and on the other to the number and the progress of the community centres, women's organisations, youth clubs and adult literacy centres. In short, we have devoted our attention in the current enquiry mainly to the institutional aspect of the social education programme and not to the substance of its achievement.

8.0.3. Last year we had conducted a somewhat intensive study of this programme, the results of which were reported in the Sixth Evaluation Report (pages 75—114). This study was based on field investigations in 18 blocks spread over 13 States. Unfortunately, for administrative reasons, these blocks could not be included in the current year's enquiry which also covers 18 blocks in 13 States. Besides, 9 out of the 18 blocks selected in the current year are in Stage-II, as against only one last year. Hence the results of the two studies are not quite comparable.

8.1.1. *Staff*.—The normal staff for social education in a block is 2 Social Education Organizers, one male and one female. Besides, the BDO and the VLWs have some responsibility for this as for other programmes. At the time of our enquiry the 18 selected blocks had 32 SEOs, 19 males and 13 females. There was no SEO in 1 block; while 2 had only one each. The former block has had no SEO for six months, as one SEO resigned a year back and no substitute has been appointed as yet, while the second SEO had been under suspension for a period of six months. In one of the latter two blocks (with one SEO each), the post of the lady SEO has been lying vacant since inception, and in the other for the last 15 months. Besides, in the last named block the male SEO remained out of station for nearly half the year for training and other work. Thus, this block did not really have any SEO for half the year, even though on the basis of population, this block is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the average size and has a correspondingly large budget provision. On this basis it should have 5 SEOs, against less than one in 1959. Each of the remaining 15 blocks has got two SEOs, though in 2 blocks both are males. In some blocks local lady workers, known as Gram Kakis or Gram Lakshmis, have been employed on payment of a small honorarium of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 per month for work among women.

8.1.2. It appears from the above account that throughout 1959 the effective number of vacancies among the SEOs in the selected blocks was of the order of 19 per cent of the posts.

8.2.1. *Number of institutions*.—The number of institutions in a block can be taken as a rough index of the effort in relation to the social education need of the people. The need and scope for institutions depend, among other things, on the number and population of the villages. Similarly, in comparing efforts in different blocks, their relative period of existence may be taken into account as a significant variable. Data on the number of institutions* per block and per 100 villages are given in Table 1.9 below:

*As adult literacy classes are of periodic character and fulfil their purpose each time a course is held, mere information of existing centres is not an index of block effort. They are, therefore, dealt with separately.

Table 1.9

Number of social education institutions per block, per 100 villages, and per 1000 population (1951) in selected blocks in December, 1959

Block	No. of Community Centres per			No. of Women's organisations per		
	Block	100 villages	1000 population	Block	100 villages	1000 population
I	2	3	4	5	6	7
Porumamilla	12	20.2	0.23	3	5.0	0.05
Hajo	Nil	Nil	Nil	3	3.3	0.04
Tajpur I-Pusa	26	32.5	0.36	8	10.0	0.11
Wazirganj	34	17.8	0.36	4	2.1	0.04
Karvir	31	24.0	0.19	37	28.6	0.21
Manavadar	40	72.7	0.56	6	10.9	0.08
Morsi	4	3.3	0.06	17	14.2	0.29
Kazhakuttam	Nil	Nil	Nil	7	17.5†	0.07
Ashta	1*	0.3	0.01	4	1.3	0.05
Kalayarkoil	7	9.7	0.09	4	5.5	0.05
Hunsur	18	11.7	0.24	5	3.3	0.05
Binka	12	6.1	0.14	10	5.1	0.11
Batala	43**	32.0	0.49	39	29.1	0.44
Bhadson	17	10.2	0.25	†	†	..
Sanchore	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	..
Tonk	NA	NA	NA	20	8.1	0.19
Bhatot	23	24.7	0.29	2	2.1	0.02
Mohd. Bazar	23	16.4	0.46	5	3.1	0.09
Average	18.2	15.0	0.22	10.9	8.4	0.13

Table 19 (concl'd)

No. of youth clubs per		No. of All Institutions per			
Block	100 villages	1000 popu- lation	Block	100 villages	1000 popu- lation
8	9	10	11	12	13
Porumamilla	60	100.0	1.10	125.0	1.40
Hajo	Nil	Nil	Nil	3.3	0.04
Tajpur I-Pusa	10	12.5	0.14	55.0	0.61
Wazirani	23	12.0	0.24	31.9	0.64
Karvir	6	4.6	0.03	57.2	0.42
Manavadar	48	87.3	0.67	170.9	1.3
Morsi	22	18.3	0.39	35.8	0.73
Kazhakurtam	28	70.0†	0.30	87.5†	0.39
Ashta	2	0.7	0.02	2.3	0.08
Kalayarkoil	5	6.9	0.07	22.1	0.21
Hunsur	20	13.0	0.29	43	0.59
Binka	46	23.6	0.53	68	0.79
Batala	46	34.4	0.50	128	1.45
Bhadson	40	23.9	0.60	NA	NA
Sanchoore	24	14.9	0.27	NA	NA
Tonk	19	7.7	0.27	NA	NA
Bhathat	10	10.8	0.12	35	0.42
Mohd. Bazar	29	18.3	0.55	37	1.10
Average	24.3	18.0	0.30	53.4	0.65

*This is located at the block headquarter and is of little use to villagers.

†Exact number is not known. In the published progress report for the quarter ending 31-12-58, the number given is 385 which is much too high.

NA—Not available.

**Include 15 Community listening sets.

H. Some blocks have and some have not included inactive institutions in this number.

‡ Relate to Karas.

8.2.2. 291 community centres, 174 women's organisations and 438 youth clubs were found in the blocks at the time of our enquiry. However, the definitions used in the blocks for these institutions are not uniform. In some blocks bhajan mandalis and recreation clubs are called community centres, while in others they are not. Even if the definition problem is overlooked, the numbers are not always reliable. In some blocks the records are in a very bad state, and even the number of the institutions is not known. In some places the BDO following the previous reports keeps reporting the progress in the setting up of institutions without ascertaining or verifying the actual numbers operating.

8.2.3. Community Centres exist in 14 out of 16 blocks or 88 per cent of those for which information is available. In one of these there is only one community centre and that too, at the block headquarters. Hence, for all practical purposes, only 12 or three-fourths have really got this type of institution. Women's organisations and youth clubs are relatively wide-spread, the former existing in all the blocks, and the latter in 94.4 per cent for which we have information. A block has, on an average, 18 community centres, 11 women's organisations and 24 youth clubs.

8.2.4. If we take the number per 100 villages, the best results are seen in the case of youth clubs. Out of every 100 villages only 15.0 have got community centres and 8.4 have got women's organisations, as against 18.0 youth clubs. Even if we assume that no village has more than one type of these institutions, which is not likely, about 60 out of 100 villages have got none of them. The number of institutions per 100 villages varies widely in different blocks, from 0 to 72.7 for community centres, from 1.3 to 29.1 for women's organisations and from 0 to 100 for youth clubs. The number per 100 villages is less than 10 in 6 blocks for community centres, in 10 blocks for women's organisations and in 5 blocks for youth clubs, while the number is less than 20 in 10, 14, and 12 blocks respectively. Thus the percentage of villages which have these institutions is still very low.

8.2.5. A similar situation is revealed by the figures showing the number of institutions per thousand population (as per 1951 Census), given in Table 1.9. In the blocks under study there are on an average 0.22 community centres, 0.13 women's organisations and 0.30 youth clubs per thousand population. The number of institutions of all types per thousand population works out to 0.65. The coverage of population by community centres shows a variation from 0 to 0.56, the corresponding figures for women's organisations being from 0.02 to 0.44, and for

youth clubs from 0 to 1.10. In short, the selected blocks had in December, 1959 an average of one community centre for four thousand and six hundred people, one women's organisation for about seven and a half thousand, and one youth club for about three thousand and three hundred persons.

8.3.1. *Out-turn per year.*—Let us now take the out-turn per block per year. For a measure of this we require data on the total number of institutions organised since inception and the period of existence of the blocks. But the former is not available in all cases. The number of existing institutions given in the Table 1.9 has, therefore, been used. There were very few institutions of these types at the time of inception of the blocks. But in some cases a large number of those since organised had gone out of existence and since written off. These, or what may be called the wasted effort, are left out of account and only the effective* or net out-turn is shown. The figures arrived at by dividing the existing number by the number of years of the block period are given in the table 1.10.

Table 1.10
Net out-turn per year of social education institutions

Block	Period Years	Number per year			
		Comm- unity Centres	Women's organisa- tions	Youth Clubs	All Ins- titutions
I	2	3	4	5	6
Porumamilla . . .	3.92	3.0	0.8	15.0	18.8
Hajo . . .	3.25	Nil	0.9	Nil	0.9
Tajpur . . .	7.25	3.6	1.1	1.4	6.1
Wazirganj . . .	3.25	5.1	1.2	7.1	13.4
Karvir . . .	7.25	4.2	5.1	0.8	10.1
Manavadar . . .	7.25	5.5	0.8	6.6	12.9
Morsi . . .	7.25	0.5	2.4	3.0	5.9
Kazhakuttam . . .	4.25	Nil	1.6	6.6	8.2
Ashra . . .	6.25	n	0.6	0.3	0.9
Kalayarkoil . . .	3.75	1.9	1.0	1.3	4.2
Hunsur . . .	4.75	3.8	1.0	4.2	19.0
Binka . . .	3.75	3.2	2.7	12.3	18.2
Batala . . .	7.25	6.0 @	5.3	6.3	17.6
Bhadson . . .	7.75	2.2	&	5.2	NA
Sanchoe . . .	3.75	NA	NA	6.4	NA
Tonk . . .	3.67	NA	5.4	5.2	NA
Bharhat . . .	7.25	3.2	0.3	1.4	4.9
Mohd. Bazar . . .	7.25	3.2	0.7	4.0	7.9
Average . . .	5.50	3.2	1.9	4.4	9.5

n—negligible.

&—exact number not known.

NA—Not available.

@—Include Community listening sets.

*These include the inactive institutions which continue to be shown in the progress reports of the blocks.

8.3.2. On an average, a block has organised in the net 3.2 community centres, 1.9 women's organisations and 4.4 youth clubs per year or 9.5 institutions of these three types per year since inception. The net outturn in different blocks shows also fairly wide variations, from 0 to 6.0 in the case of community centres, 0.3 to 5.4 in the case of women's organisations and 0 to 15.0 in the case of youth clubs; the variations being the largest for youth clubs. It should be noted, however, that the need and scope for different institutions are not the same in different blocks. A study of the figures of the different blocks shows that in some the staff position cannot be easily correlated with the success of the block effort in creating the institutions.

8.3.3. The average figures for all the blocks do not, however, reveal the differences in this respect between blocks in different stages. The blocks included in the investigation this year are divided equally, as has been pointed out earlier, between Stage—I and Stage—II. It would, therefore, be interesting to see whether there is some difference between the performance of these two types of blocks. Summary figures showing the number of institutions per block and per block per year for these two types are given below:

Table 1.11
No. of institutions

Type of institutions	Per block		Per block per year	
	S-I	S-II	S-I	S-II
1	2	3	4	5
Community Centres	11.9	23.2	3.1	3.2
Women's Organisations	7.0	13.1	1.9	2.1
Youth Clubs	25.0	23.7	6.5	3.3
All	43.9	60.0	11.5	8.6

It will appear that the total number of institutions per block is significantly larger in the S—II blocks than the S—I. The difference is equally large for community centres and women's organisations. As for the youth clubs, the S—I blocks show a slightly higher figure than the S—II. On the whole, the position is to be expected; the S—II blocks have been functioning for nearly double the period of the

other blocks, besides having had the benefit of proportionately larger investment.

8.3.4. The net out-turn data show, however, a different picture. The net number of institutions divided by the number of years of block effort is larger for the S—I than for the S—II blocks as will be apparent from the figures given above. The difference is particularly significant in the case of youth clubs. The conclusion may be hazarded that the tempo of organisation slowed down considerably in the S—II phase, after the initial spurt in the S—I stage.

8.4.1. *Mortality of social education institutions.*—An attempt has been made by us to follow up the point mentioned in the last paragraph and to estimate the extent of “mortality” among the social education institutions organised so far by the blocks. Figures have been obtained from the S—II blocks included in this year’s investigation regarding the number of institutions of the three types organised in different phases of their activity and the proportion of these actually defunct or inactive.



Table on next page

Table 1.12
Rate of organisation of social education institutions in different phases of block activity and the proportion of 'mortality'

Type of Institutions	Number per block				Total or- ganized since inception	Defunct or inactive in Dec., 1959	Per centage of defunct or inactive to total no. organized
	Organised from incep- tion to end of intensive period (4 years 2 months)	Organised from end of intensive period upto Dec., 1959 (3 years)					
	Average No.	Average No. per year	Average No.	Average No. per year			
	Average of 7 old blocks*						
Community Centres	20.6	4.9	7.9	2.6	28.4	17.1	60.3
Women's organisations	6.7	1.6	5.1	1.7	11.9	7.3	61.4
Youth Clubs	23.7	5.7	11.7	3.9	35.4	22.1	62.6
All	51.0	12.2	24.7	8.2	75.7	46.6	61.5
	Average of 9 old blocks*						
Community Centres	..	..	..	..	27.1	15.7	57.8
Women's Organisations	..	..	..	..	15.2	9.6	62.8
Youth Clubs	..	..	..	..	30.7	18.2	59.4
All	..	..	..	..	73.0	43.4	59.2

*These are among the 68 blocks started in the first series in October, 1952.

The Table gives the institutions organised in the intensive period separately from those started from the end of this phase till December, 1959, the two phases covering on the average 4 years 2 months and 3 years respectively. The number of institutions reported defunct or inactive in December, 1959, has also been ascertained and used to calculate the ratio of mortality.

8.4.2. It appears from these figures that the average number of community centres and youth clubs organised in the intensive phase, 20·6 and 23·7 respectively, is much higher than in the later period, 7·9 and 11·7 respectively. Among the three types of institutions considered women's organisations record the lowest number; probably it is more difficult to organise them than the other institutions. Women's Organisations also take more time to set-up and consequently do not show a fall in the rate of growth even after the intensive period. In fact, the average out-turn per year shows a slight increase from 1·6 to 1·7, as against decreases from 4·9 to 2·6 for community centres and from 5·7 to 3·9 for youth clubs.

8.4.3. The most significant fact emerging from the figures given above is the very high rate of mortality among institutions of all types. Nearly 60 per cent of the social education institutions organised up to December, 1959 by the older blocks have become either inactive or defunct. The rate of mortality is almost the same for the three different types we are considering. This high rate of mortality and/or morbidity should be a cause for concern inasmuch as it shows the magnitude of the wasted effort. The reasons for this state of affairs need to be gone into thoroughly, and attempts should be made to reduce the proportion of such defunct or inactive institutions.

8.5.0. *Working of social education institutions.*—The mere existence of institutions is not enough, and their number is no index of their efficiency and vitality. An attempt has, therefore, been made by us to make a qualitative assessment of their working.

8.5.1. *Community centres.*—The blocks give assistance to the community centres in the form of free or subsidised supply of articles like newspapers, periodicals, sports' material, musical instruments, radio sets, curtains and furniture.

8.5.2. In spite of such help, however, the community centres seem to have failed in many blocks to strike roots. In one block 75 per cent of the community centres are

not making any contribution to the social life of the villages. They do not even subscribe to newspapers and periodicals. In another almost all the centres are inactive, and in a third the radio sets are mostly lying idle or have been monopolised by certain persons. Bhajan, Kirtan and radio-listening are the usual activities in the community centres which are in a working state. In 2 blocks the community centre buildings are used for the charkha programme or by some other institution.

8.6.1. *Women's organisations.*—Grants for the pay of the in-charge, and free gift of sewing machines and other materials have been made to these organisations in many blocks. Some were also given radio sets and musical instruments. In 1 block all women's organisations are inactive; in 7 others, 14 per cent to 70 per cent of them are inactive.

8.6.2. Most women's organisations perform a variety of literary, economic and cultural activities, such as holding classes for literacy, embroidery and tailoring and organising dance, music and dramas. In one block they only distribute milk powder.

8.7.1. *Youth clubs.*—The most numerous among the social education institutions that have been started are the youth clubs. These have been given financial as well as other assistance (sports goods and equipment) in many blocks.

8.7.2. In one block where every village is reported as having a youth club, most of these are inactive, and action had recently to be initiated in some villages to revitalise them. In one block almost all are not working. In many other blocks appreciable proportions are inactive. In fact, in 3 blocks more than half the youth clubs are practically defunct. In one block they have even been degenerating. In one block some clubs have become a source of friction between the young and the old in the villages.

8.7.3. Those youth clubs which are working, usually confine their activities to sports and recreations. In one block 6 youth clubs have been reorganised recently and induced to undertake various activities including demonstration of improved agricultural practices. In another the members of the youth clubs perform social services like celebrating the small savings' week. In one block school teachers have been made secretaries and have been instructed to devote time and energy to the clubs. In some blocks the members have taken up individual projects, such as management

of cattle, digging of compost-pits, gardening, adopting better farming methods, besides sports, games and cultural activities. In some, the youth clubs have started libraries and recreational facilities besides undertaking agricultural extension activities.

8.8.1. *Adult literacy.*—Adult literacy centres were started in all these blocks at different times since the community development programme had been taken up. To assess the progress of this programme, information is needed on the total number of classes run and the number of the illiterate made literate during the entire block period. These data are not available for all our blocks. For four blocks, we have information on the number of persons made literate since inception. The number ranges from 1000 in one block through 1100 in each of two blocks to about 2700 in the fourth. The proportion of persons made literate in these blocks to the total population ranges from 1 per cent to 3.3 per cent. The adult literacy classes are not, however, confined always to adults. Children below 15 years also attend the classes in a number of blocks; in one block about 60 per cent of the persons on the roll of adult literacy centres are between 10 and 15 years of age.

8.8.2. Information on the general state of this programme is available for all blocks. In most blocks a part-time teacher, usually the school teacher, is entrusted with the work for a small remuneration of Rs. 10 to 15 per month. In one block payments are made on the number of adults made literate. In one block there is great variation in the salaries of teachers; some are paid Rs. 30, others Rs. 20 and still others Rs. 10 or Rs. 5 per month only. Besides the pay of the teacher, books, slates and furniture are also provided free in many cases.

8.8.3. In one block only four out of the 29 centres running at present are working satisfactorily. In 3 blocks there is no programme for adult literacy. In one of these it was stopped as the honorarium given to the teacher was not sufficient.

8.8.4. Lack of adequate emphasis on follow-up is the main shortcoming in 7 blocks. In one block the pilot project for education has given a new lease of life to the adult literacy programme; but the SEO does not have the time to devote sufficient attention to it. Reports from a number of blocks indicate that the adult literacy programme is liked by the villagers. Inadequacy of funds seems to be one of the main difficulties that has been hampering further extension of this programme.

9. Democratic decentralisation

9.0.1. *Meaning of democratic decentralisation.*—Democratic decentralisation involves a two-fold change, viz., democratisation and decentralisation. Democratisation implies both strengthening the elective element in the composition of the legislative units and increasing the authority and power of these units. Decentralisation means the creation of governing bodies at local levels and the transfer of power and authority to them. The setting up of administrative units at lower levels does not mean decentralisation, if these units only exercise powers that are delegated to them by the central organisations and have no power of independent action. Thus, decentralisation is to be distinguished from delegation of powers. Democratic decentralisation means a move towards self-government at lower levels.

9.1.1. *Object.*—One of the grounds on which democratic decentralisation is advocated is its potentiality for improving the efficiency of government. Quite a number of issues, which all governments have to handle, are primarily of local importance. They are, therefore, better handled by local bodies than by State or national Governments. The former being nearer to these issues should have a better understanding and should handle them more efficiently. Moreover, the representation of the people through selection on these bodies brings the two into closer contact and adds to the efficiency of the administration. The second argument for democratic decentralisation is that it gives the people an opportunity to share in the government affairs which are close to them. The participation increases their political consciousness and interest and trains them for democracy.

9.1.2. The Balwantrai Mehta Team (1957) concluded that the ineffectiveness of local self-government was due to the limited powers, responsibilities and funds that were given to the local bodies and recommended that these be enlarged. According to the team, responsibility begets confidence and competence. It, therefore, recommended the establishment at the village, block and district levels, of statutory bodies with adequate powers for planning and development.

9.2.1. *Constitution of statutory bodies.*—To implement this recommendation, laws had to be passed and put into effect. The Sixth Report on Evaluation contained a summary review of the progress made in the implementation of the recommendations of the Mehta Team. Information on the advance made since last year is given here.

9.3.1. *Village level.*—By 1959 all States had not only passed panchayat Acts, but also set up panchayats over most parts. The areas, which had still to be covered were, in some cases, those which were included in the States as the result of the reorganisation. In a few States, where Acts had been passed recently, the panchayats were yet to cover the whole State. These States are, however, trying to catch up. Some idea of the progress made is given in the following table.

Table 1.13

Percentage of rural population covered by panchayats in different States (31-3-59)

Punjab	100
Rajasthan	100
U.P.	100
Jammu & Kashmir	97
Orissa	97
Kerala	91
Bombay	85
Mysore	85
Andhra	83
Assam	80
Bihar	76
Madras	71
Madhya Pradesh	64
West Bengal	19

9.3.2. Considerable progress was reported in a number of States. Unfortunately, figures for a period later than March, 1959, are not available. The figures for States like Andhra, Mysore, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal will need considerable upward revision to bring them up to the end of 1959. It may be noted that most parts of West Bengal had been covered by the end of 1959 by panchayats set up under the Panchayat Act of 1959. Both in this State and Mysore, the Union Boards or Panchayats set up under the old Acts had been dissolved in 1958-59. Elections for the new panchayats were held in the same year and the new bodies were set up by the end of 1959-60.

9.3.3. Some States have also undertaken the revision of the old panchayat Acts in the light of the new requirements

for democratic development. In Assam, Bihar and Mysore, panchayats are being reconstituted under the revised Acts passed in 1959. In Bombay the Panchayat Act 1958 came into force in June, 1959.

9.4.1. *Block and district levels.*—Rajasthan is the first State in India to introduce Panchayati Raj more or less as contemplated by the Balwantraj Mehta Team. The necessary legislation was passed in 1959. Zilla parishads are being constituted at the district level, while Panchayat Samitis are being set up not only in the blocks but also in other areas. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, where *ad hoc* panchayat samitis had been set up, have since enacted the necessary legislation and implemented it in November, 1959. Panchayat Samitis are being formed only in the block areas. So far 235 Panchayat Samitis and 20 Zilla Parishads have been constituted. In Madras where also an Act was passed in 1959, a decision has been taken to implement it in 3 stages, first in 75 blocks then in 130 and finally in 165. The preliminary notification for the first group has been published.

9.4.2. In Assam a bill which was under consideration has been passed and the Act will be put into effect shortly. In the meantime, *ad hoc* committees have been set up by an Ordinance. An Act was passed in Mysore and put into effect on 1st November, 1959. The statutory bodies are expected to begin functioning from April, 1960. In Orissa the Act is awaiting the approval of the Governor. In Kerala and U.P., bills are under consideration by the legislatures. In the meantime, *ad hoc* Zilla Parishads are continuing in the latter.

9.4.3. In Bihar and Bombay no further progress has been made since our last report. In Bombay an advisory body called the District Panchayat Council has been formed under the Bombay Village Panchayat Act, 1958, in order to guide, advise and assist the panchayats and promote the smooth working and proper execution of the plans. The council has been given the power to approve their budgets and ensure inspection of audit reports. At the block level, the BDO has been made an ex-officio Assistant District Panchayat Officer to guide and advise the panchayats.

9.4.4. An official bill is expected to be introduced in Madhya Pradesh and Punjab soon. In West Bengal Gram and Anchal panchayats and Zilla Boards are being set up under the Panchayat Act passed in 1956.

9.4.5. The States, which have implemented or propose to implement the recommendations of the Mehta team, are agreed on the need for village panchayats, but they have

not, in all cases, accepted its recommendations for setting up statutory bodies at the district and block levels. U.P. has decided not to set up a statutory body at the block level. Bihar and West Bengal have not so far amended their Acts in this direction. On the other hand, Madras has set up panchayat unions at the block level and proposes to set up the district bodies later. Mysore has chosen the taluk instead of the block as the unit of development. Assam has chosen the sub-division instead of the district.

Functioning of statutory bodies:

9.5.1. *Village bodies.*—For an effective functioning of these bodies, it is essential that the members take adequate interest in the proceedings and business of the meetings. In the last report based on 38 blocks, it was observed that the panchayats had “done very little with their statutory powers” and that even when they are formally responsible for preparing plans, “it is the officials who really do the job.”** From the reports† by our investigators, it appears that there has been little improvement in the situation in most blocks.

9.5.2. Reports from a few blocks under our study suggest that the panchayats are taking an active interest in planning. Many of the panchayats in these blocks have started framing their budgets without much guidance from officials, and on the basis of programmes drawn up in the light of the felt-needs of the villagers. Even in these blocks, however, many of the panchayats suffer from lack of adequate funds and confine their activities to routine municipal functions like street lighting, water supply etc. Productive and developmental activities have not yet been taken up on any significant scale. It may be added here that these 4 blocks are located in the States of Bombay, Kerala and Madras.

9.5.3. Reports from a large number of the other blocks generally present a picture of inadequate participation by the panchayats in planning work, and of ineffective functioning. It should be mentioned here, however, that in two of these 14 blocks, the panchayats were in a state of re-organization at the time of our enquiry. We fully recognize the fact that it is too early to pass a judgement on the panchayats. In many States, they have been set up only recently. Nevertheless, it is in order to point out here some of the deficiencies noted by our investigators. The reasons for the unsatisfactory functioning of the panchayats are many.

** Page 16.

† The field officers personally attended a few meetings of panchayats, block and district bodies to acquire a first-hand knowledge of their working.

9.5.4. In the first place, the statutes passed by different States impose a number of limitations on the power and authority of the panchayats and the manner of their execution. Thus, in some States the panchayats are required to submit their budgets to government officials before these can be accepted by the general body. Secondly, in some other States, the panchayats have not been given the power to levy taxes with the result that they have to look to the higher bodies for their finance. Thirdly, the impression has also been obtained from the panchayat members in a few blocks that they do not regard the panchayats as their own local bodies because of the fact that a large number of over-riding powers have been given to the Government officials and of their fear that these can be exercised so as to reduce their organisation to a state of impotence.

9.5.5. Secondly, in practically all the blocks from which unsatisfactory reports have been received, the sociological framework of the rural leadership and relationship patterns in which the panchayats have to function are not helpful. The office of the panchayat president carries with it not only prestige but power and authority also. In societies where all these attributes have been largely determined by status and seldom subjected to questioning, a democratic exercise or expression of these depends to a considerable extent on the attitude and approach of persons occupying this seat. Unfortunately, our reports show that in some of the panchayats the presidents have been persons who are very powerful and not easily approachable by other villagers. In some other cases a few powerful and influential persons associated with the presidents of the panchayats have been responsible for widening the gulf between the leaders and the rest of the villagers. An inevitable result of this type of leadership has been inadequate contacts with the mass of the villagers and their lack of interest in the planning as well as the execution of programmes. Except in some cases, people's participation in developmental activities has not been spontaneous, but largely the result of decisions by these influential persons or leaders. In some cases, this situation has also led to a virtual lack of interest in the elections of panchayat members, which has manifested itself in the absence of contest during the elections.

9.5.6. Similarly the procedure followed in the conduct of their business by the panchayats does not make for efficiency. Thus, it has been noticed in a number of panchayats that meetings are seldom held to discuss regular business and to take decisions. It has been reported from some panchayats that the only meetings ever held were those

for electing office bearers. The proceedings books, however, do not reveal this state of affairs because there are records of other meetings held and resolutions passed. But these resolutions are, more often than not, framed by the president and then circulated to the members for approval. The lack of contact of the influential members of the panchayat with the villagers is also evident in many cases in the unwillingness of the panchayats either to use their taxation powers (where these exist) more effectively by levying new taxes and thus increasing their budgetary resources or even, in some cases, fully to collect some of the taxes imposed. In a way, this situation can also be traced to the sociological frame-work discussed in the previous paragraph.

9.5.7. Finally, it has been noticed that in almost all the 14 blocks where panchayats are not functioning properly, the planning of developmental activities is usually done by officials at the higher levels and merely passed on to the panchayats. This situation is also encouraged, to a considerable extent, by the dependence of the panchayats largely on government grants for their finances. Unfortunately, it has been noticed in some cases that even these grants are not fully spent and the unspent surplus is utilized to represent people's participation in items of work in which such participation is inadequate.

9.6.1. *Block.*—Statutory bodies at the block level have come into being only in two States, Rajasthan and Andhra. Three of our selected blocks, Porumamilla, Sanchore and Tonk lie in these States. In other blocks, Block Development Committees, constituted under Government orders, function in an advisory capacity.

9.6.2. The Panchayat Samiti in Porumamilla, Andhra, has been elected recently. About half the members have some education; some have passed the SSLC examination. The opposition is strong. It is powerful in the various standing committees and keeps the president alert. The programme which the block had previously framed is being implemented. In Sanchore and Tonk, Rajasthan, the Panchayat Samitis were set up only in October, 1959. The Sanchore Samiti consists of 31 members, 25 sarpanches and 6 coopted members. The local MLAs are associate members. Three Standing Committees have been constituted with responsibilities in the fields of production, social services, and administration and finance. A fourth committee is proposed to be entrusted with the responsibility for administration. 50 per cent to 60 per cent of the members have been attending the five meetings which have been held so far. In Tonk, the Samiti consists of 28

members, of whom 22 are sarpanches. The Pradhan of the panchayat samiti is coopted. Five Standing Committees, each with a membership of 7, have been constituted on agriculture and animal husbandry, industries and co-operatives, education and social services, rural health, sanitation and communication, and administration and finance.

9.6.3. A brief review of the working of the block development committees is made here. These committees exist in all blocks. In Karvir and Morsi, Bombay, they consist of nominated members only. Generally speaking, considerable powers have been given to these. For example, in Kazhakuttam, Kerala, no item of work in the block can be sanctioned without the approval of the committee. In Tajpur and Wazirganj, Bihar, the decisions taken by the Block Development Committee are binding on the Government except when the Collector considers them against public interest or contrary to law. In such cases he has to record his reasons in writing.

9.6.4. It does not, however, seem that this opportunity is being properly utilized at least in some blocks. In Kazhakuttam, for example, most members do not take adequate interest in the development programmes and have a tendency to show favouritism, even if the programmes suffer as a result. In Ashta, Madhya Pradesh and Mohd. Bazar, West Bengal, the members seem to be lukewarm; they leave the framing of policies and other decisions to the officials. In Ashta, M.P., the meetings are badly attended and have often to be adjourned for want of quorum, though when proposals are put up by the block agency, they are usually accepted. In Batala, Punjab no specific responsibility for formulating plans has been vested with the block committees; they have only been given the power to approve the budgets before these are sent to the government for sanction. As a result, the officials prepare the plans and the non-officials discuss them. In Mohd. Bazar, the members of the block committee offer suggestions only occasionally. Normally they listen to the reports of the BDO and accept them.

9.7.1. *District bodies.*—District statutory bodies for planning and development have been constituted in Cuddappah, Jalore and Tonk in which Porumamilla, Sanchore and Tonk blocks are respectively located. The Cuddappah Zilla Parishad, Andhra, has a membership of 42, made up of 18 panchayats presidents, 18 M.L.As., M.Ps., and M.L.Cs., and 6 coopted members. Most members are educated and a majority of them know English. They are interested

in the rural problems of the district, e.g., conditions of scarcity, low agricultural output, etc. and have approved various works. Active participation is, however, still limited to a few M.L.As and educated persons. The official members explain the issues which require clarification. The Jalore Zilla Parishad, Rajasthan, has 21 members: 8 Pradhans of Panchayat Samitis, 5 M.L.As., 1 M.P. and 6 coopted persons and the District Collector. It has constituted 3 Standing Committees dealing with the same subjects as the Panchayat Samiti. It has met twice since its formation. The Tonk Zilla Parishad, Rajasthan, has a membership of 27 including the Collector. It has met thrice. There are 3 Standing Committees. In Bhathat, U.P., and *ad hoc* Zilla Parishad has been functioning since May, 1958. It consists of 118 members of whom 89 are non-officials.

9.7.2. In the districts where the other blocks are located, the non-statutory committees are working in an advisory capacity. In Karvir, Bombay the District Development Board is a nominated body. In Binka, Orissa it consists of official members only. The members of these bodies, being mostly educated, generally take greater interest in the business than those of the block and the village organization. In Wazirganj, Bihar the members take keen interest in the proceedings. In Kazhakuttam, Kerala the views of non-officials, who show deep interest in the work of the committee, carry much weight. They have registered strong protests against government decisions contravening District Development Council's recommendations. Instructions have been issued that when the District Officer of a department agrees with a recommendation of the Council, the head of the department should ordinarily accept it. The District Advisory Committee, Ashta, Madhya Pradesh meets every two months. Attendance by non-officials is fairly good and the level of discussion fairly high. In Batala, Punjab members take an active interest, but the district body has a limited role only, namely, to help in the execution of the plans.

In some instances the District organizations work indifferently. In Tajpur, Bihar non-officials are said to be interested only in schemes which benefit their areas. In Bhadson, Punjab the members take little interest and the meetings of the district body are more or less staff meetings of district officials. In Bhathat, U.P. the *ad hoc* Zilla Parishad is not actively participating in the planning activities. It formally approves the targets already fixed for the various district programmes.

10. Cooperation

10.0.1. Our enquiry into the functioning of cooperatives in the block areas was very limited in scope and confined to the collection of statistical information on a few important aspects. The data collected relate to the number and kinds of societies in existence in the blocks in 1959, their working capital, owned capital, deposits, volume of business and their general financial position in the two co-operative years, 1957-58 and 1958-59. It was not possible within the time at our disposal either to enquire into or to analyse the factors underlying the changes that took place in this period.

10.1.1. *Number and types of societies.*—There were 1475 cooperative societies in the 18 selected blocks on June 30, 1959. Their classification, by principal types, is given in Table 1.14.

Table 1.14

Distribution of cooperative societies by type

Type of society	No. of blocks	Number of societies	Percentage to total
Credit	16	674	45.7
Multi-purpose	9	327	22.1
Industrial	15	223	15.2
Marketing	11	25	1.7
Others	15	22	6
TOTAL	18	1475	100.0

By far the largest proportion of cooperatives (46 per cent) consists of credit societies. Next in numerical importance are the multipurpose societies. These two together account for about two-thirds of the cooperative societies. The distinction between credit and non-credit societies is not, however, a clear-cut one, and cannot be clearly drawn. Many multi-purpose societies perform credit functions. In fact, in two blocks, there are no credit cooperatives, and credit is supplied by the multipurpose societies only. Similarly, the credit societies in some blocks also

undertake the distribution of commodities like seeds and fertilizers. The marketing societies are not found in seven blocks. In three of these blocks there are multi-purpose societies which can engage in marketing activities. The industrial co-operatives are found in all blocks* but two. The other types of societies, together accounting for 15.3 per cent and covering all but 3 of the blocks, include grain golas in 2 blocks (accounting for about 20 per cent of the number in the group) as well as farming, poultry, dairying and housing cooperatives.

10.1.2. The number of societies per block ranges from 27 to 203. The distribution of blocks by the number of societies is given below:

No. of societies per block	No. of blocks
25—50	7
50—100	5
100 and over	6
	<hr/> 18 <hr/>

The average number of cooperatives per block in 1959 was 82.

10.1.3. The number of societies in the blocks for which comparable figures are available has risen during 1958-59 by an average of 29 per cent. The distribution of blocks by the percentage rise in the number of cooperatives shows a fairly even spread over the range of increase.

Percentage increase in the No. of cooperatives	No. of blocks
Less than 10	4
10 to 20	2
20 to 50	4
50 and over	3
Average 29 per cent	<hr/> 13 <hr/>

The number of credit, multipurpose, industrial and marketing cooperatives increased by 10, 6, 77 and 63 per cent

*Information for one block is not available.

respectively. The rise in the number of industrial co-operatives was largest both absolutely and proportionately. As for marketing societies even though the percentage figure for rise was very high, the number involved was very small.

10.1.4. The average ratio between the number of villages and of cooperatives in the blocks on June 30, 1959 was 1.6:1, with a range from 0.4:1 to 8:1 among the blocks. The corresponding figure for the preceding year was 1.7:1, with a range of 0.8:1 to 9.8:1. In other words, the average number of cooperatives per 100 villages was 62 in June, 1959 as compared to 59 in June, 1958. It is not possible on the basis of these figures to relate the number of villages served by cooperatives to the number of societies. For, a society, sometimes, caters to several villages, just as a village is in some cases served by more than one type of society.

10.2.1. *Membership.*—Information on membership of cooperatives is not available for one block. In the other 17 blocks the average membership per society was 69 and ranged from 35 to 291 among the blocks in 1959. The distribution of blocks by the average membership of cooperatives is given below:

Average membership per society	No. of blocks
35—50	6
50—100	8
100—200	2
200 and over	1
	17

In 14 out of 17 blocks, or 82 per cent, the average membership per society was less than 100 in 1959, which shows that the average society was of a small size.

10.2.2. Statistics of membership do not necessarily indicate the number of persons in the cooperative fold. Allowance has to be made for two important factors. First, there may be more than one member from a house-hold. Secondly, the same person may be a member of more than one type of cooperative. Assuming that an average house-hold consists of five persons and ignoring for the sake of simplicity the above possibilities, the average proportion of members to house-holds in the blocks was about 35 per cent on 30th June, 1959, with a range from 7 per cent to 83 per cent. Data for 1957-58 and 1958-59, available for 11 blocks only, show that the membership of cooperatives increased in 1958-59 by 20 per cent and the proportion of

house-holds covered by membership from 36 per cent to 43 per cent. The average membership per society, however, came down from 74.9 to 70.7 or by 4.2. This means that the rise in membership was less than in proportion to the increase in the number of societies. The average membership came down in 4 by 0.8% to 23.7% and went up in 7 by 1% to 87%.

10.2.3. The account given so far has related to the number and membership of societies of all types. Data on some of the important aspects relating to the functioning of the cooperative in 1958-59 are analysed in the following sections separately for the different types of societies.

Credit societies:

10.3.1. *Number and membership.*—The number of credit societies per block ranged from 3 to 115 and worked out to an average of 37.4 for 18 blocks. The average number of societies per 100 villages was 28.0. In 11 blocks, for which comparable data are available, the number of societies rose by 10 per cent in 1958-59. The rise was of the order of 1 per cent to 53 per cent in 8, and in one the number doubled. But in another it remained constant and in still another it came down by 18 per cent. The number of credit cooperatives per 100 villages rose during the year from 27 to 30.

10.3.2. The credit cooperatives in 15 blocks had an average membership of 62.8 per society on 30th June, 1959 with a range from about 27 to 227. In 10 blocks for which we have figures for 1957-58, the total membership went up by about 10 per cent, but the average membership remained practically stationary. It rose in 7 blocks and fell in 3.

10.4.1. *Financial position.*—633 credit societies in 15 blocks had a working capital of about Rs. 53 lakhs on 30th June, 1959, or an average of Rs. 8,300 per society. The classification of blocks according to the average working ties in 1957-58 and 1958-59 are given in Table 1.15.

Average working capital per society (Rs.)	No. of blocks
Less than 5,000	7
5,000—10,000	4
10,000—15,000	1
15,000 and over	3

Thus, in 80 per cent of the blocks the average working capital in June, 1959 was less than Rs. 10,000.

10.4.2. Statistics relating to some of the important indicators of the financial position of cooperative credit societies in 1957-58 and 1958-59 are given in Table 1.15.

Table 1.15

Financial position of credit co-operatives

indicators	A. All Blocks* 1958-59		B. Comparable Blocks only †			
	No. of Blocks	Rs.	No. of Blocks	1957-58 Rs.	1958-59 Rs.	Difference Percentage growth
1. Working capital per society .	15	8300	10	10800	10300	- 5.0
2. Percentage of owned to working capital	11	23.1	7	23.4	23.1	- 0.3
3. Deposits per society	12	212	8	281.2	286.0	4.8
4. Deposits per member	12	3.4	8	4.4	4.3	- 0.1
5. Loans given per member	12	114	9	143.2	138.8	- 4.4
6. Loans taken per member	14	152	9	119.2	117.3	- 1.9
7. Loans given per society	12	6533.2	9	8572.6	8480.0	- 92.6
8. Loans taken per society	14	9596.1	9	7613.4	7639.1	25.7

*Data relate to the specified number of credit co-operatives in the sample of 18 blocks.

† Data relate to the specified number of blocks for which only comparable information for the two years were available.

Of the societies in the larger sample, those in two blocks did not have any deposit from members in 1959. The societies in two blocks also engaged in purchase and sale activities in 1959. The societies, on an average, borrowed more than they lent. Borrowings were done relatively more by the societies in which the proportion of owned capital was lower.

10.4.3. The comparative position of the societies in the years 1957-58 and 1958-59 shows that there was in the latter year a decrease in the ratio of owned to working capital, the deposit per member, loans per member and per society. It appears that there was a decrease in the business of the credit societies in spite of larger funds which were made available by financing institutions and of a larger volume of deposits. It also seems that the members did not take as much in loans as they did in the preceding year and reduced their average deposits with the society. The figures do not, however, show any alarming change in the position in 1958-59. Some of the changes may be merely due to the inclusion of the new societies started during the year.

Multi-purpose societies:

10.5.1. The number of multi-purpose societies per block* in 1959 was 36, and ranged from 1 to 109. About a third of the total number of them was in 1 block; and 47% in another 2 blocks out of the 9 in which these societies were found to exist. The number of multi-purpose societies went up during the year by 6%, as a result of increases of 1 each in 3 blocks, 2 in 1 and 6 each in 2 blocks. It remained constant in three. In 7 blocks for which we have information for both the years, the average membership per society came down during the year from 107 to 106. There was a decline in average membership in 4 blocks and an increase in 2, while in one it remained stationary.

The number of multi-purpose cooperatives per 100 villages was 25.7 on 30-6-59 as against 24.3 on 30-6-58. The number of members per 1000 persons was 47.5 in 1958-59, as against 45.6 in 1957-58.

10.5.2. *Financial position.*—Data on some indicators of the financial position of these societies are given separately for 1957-58 and 1958-59 in Table 1.16.

*In 9 blocks which have multipurpose societies.

Table 1.16

Financial position of multi-purpose societies*

Indicators	All Blocks		Comparable blocks only				
	No. of Blocks	1958-59 Rs.	No. of Blocks	1957-58 Rs.	1958-59 Rs.	Difference Rs.	Percentage growth
1. Working capital per society	9	35,723.9	7	31,101.2	35,958.6	4,817	15.5
2. Percentage of owned to working capital	8	25.1	7	25.4	25.1	-0.3	-1.2
3. Deposits per society	9	342.3	7	1,150	344	-806	-70.0
4. Deposits per member	9	3.2	7	10.7	3.3	-7.4	-69.6
5. Loans given per member	9	278	7	231.5	280.7	49.1	21.2
6. Loans taken per member	9	246	7	214.6	248.8	34.2	15.9
7. Loans given per society	9	29,437	7	24,775.6	29,608.3	4,832.7	19.5
8. Loans taken per society	9	26,085	7	22,957.9	26,238.9	3,281.0	14.3

*Data on purchases and sales are not given as the societies showing these transactions were in 2 blocks only.

The entire working capital of the societies in two blocks on 30-6-59 was owned. In others the percentage did not exceed 46. The societies in 3 blocks neither advanced loans nor held deposits. In the other 6 the deposits ranged from Rs. 11 to Rs. 956 per society, and were below Rs. 100 per society except in 2 blocks.

10.5.3. Loans were taken by these societies from Central Banks or the Government in 7 blocks. Purchases and sales had been transacted by them in 2 blocks only. The average value of purchases and sales in these blocks per society came to Rs. 6,165 and Rs. 6,332 respectively and per member Rs. 77 and Rs. 79 respectively. Thus, these societies mostly made outright purchases and sales and did very little commission work. Of course, an important factor, on which we do not have information, is the value of the opening and the closing stocks.

10.5.4. Unlike the credit societies the multi-purpose societies showed an improvement in 1958-59. Even though there was a fall both in the proportion of owned capital and in the deposit per society and per member, the lendings and borrowings showed an upward trend. The sharp decline in deposits occurred because of a reduction of about 70% in the deposits of societies in a block accounting for about 85% of the total deposits in 1957-58. The general position shows an improvement in 1958-59, if this block is left out.

Industrial societies:

10.6.1. *Number and Membership.*—In 17 blocks for which data are available, there were 223 industrial societies on 30-6-59, the number per block ranging from 0 to 126 and averaging out to 13. In 13 blocks of which two had no societies, the number was less than 10. It was between 12 and 27 in three and 126 in one. The number rose during 1958-59 by about 77% in 16 blocks, for which we have information for both the years. In one of these, an industrial society was registered for the first time during the year. The number remained constant in five blocks, went up in six by 17% to 25% and came down in four by 15% to 100%. The number of industrial co-operatives per 100 villages went up from 5.2 on 30-6-58 to 9.3 on 30-6-59.

10.6.2. In the 14 blocks which had industrial co-operatives either on 30-6-59 or on 30-6-58 and for which comparable data are available, the average membership per society declined from about 40 to 35 and ranged from 11 to 545 on 30-6-59. It rose in seven, declined in 5 and

Table 1.17

Financial position of industrial societies

Indicators	A. All blocks 1958-59			B. comparable blocks only				Increase(+) Decrease(-) Amount Percent Rs.
	No. of Blocks	Rs.	No. of Blocks	1957-58 Rs.	1958-59 Rs.			
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1. Working capital per society.	13	5,012.5	12	3,940.2	5,012.5	1072.3	+27.2	
2. Percentage of owned to working capital	12	26.0	12	33.0	26.0	-7.0	-218	
3. Deposits per society	14	8.8	11	134.7	24.0	-110.7	-82.2	
4. Deposits per member	14	0.3	11	3.3	0.5	-2.8	-84.8	
5. Loans taken per member	13	88.9	12	59.3	58.7	-0.6	-1.0	
6. Loans taken per society	13	3,096.8	12	3,359.3	2,874.9	+515.6	+21.8	

remained constant in 2. Out of every 1,000 persons in these blocks 6.7 were members of industrial cooperatives on 30-6-59 as against only 4.3 a year before.

10.6.3. *Financial Position.*—Only 13 blocks had societies on 30-6-58 as well as on 30-6-59. Besides data for 1958-59 available for a larger number of blocks, data for last two years on some important aspects of the working of these societies, available for 11 to 12 blocks only, are given in Table 1.17.

10.6.4. A significant feature of the working of the industrial cooperatives in 1958-59 was that deposits were held by them in only four blocks. These were small in volume, the highest amount being Rs. 1344 in one block. In 2 blocks the entire capital was owned; in the other blocks the ratio of owned capital varied from 11% to 86%. Purchases and sales were made in three blocks during both these years, and only sales in one. But two blocks transacted sales and purchases last year and not this year. In one of the blocks where purchases and sales ceased this year, loans were given. Thus, in 6 of the 11 blocks these societies had neither sales nor purchases nor lendings. On the whole, these societies recorded a decline in respect of the proportion of owned capital, deposits and loans taken per member. The decline in deposits was due, as in multipurpose societies, to the fact that the deposits in one block, accounting for about 85% of deposits in 1957-58, were almost completely withdrawn.

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Marketing Societies:

10.7.1. *Number.*—25 marketing societies existed in 11 blocks on 30-6-59; one each in 8 and 2, 3 and 12 in the other 3. In 10 blocks, for which we have comparable data, the number rose by 63%. There has been no change during the year in the number of societies in 7 blocks. In one, it increased from 1 to 3 and in 2 from nil to 3.

10.7.2. 25 societies had an average membership of 169 per society on 30-6-59. This compares favourably with the averages of all the other types dealt with earlier. In 1957-58 seven societies in 9 blocks had an average membership of 366 per society. In the same blocks 12 societies had, a year later, an average membership of 261 per society only.

10.7.3. *Financial position.*—Data on some important aspects of the financial position of these societies are given in table 1:18 below:

Table 1.18

Financial position of marketing societies

Indicators	All blocks		Comparable blocks only			
	No. of Blocks	1958-59 Rs.	No. of Blocks	1957-58 Rs.	1958-59 Rs.	Increase(+) or Decrease(-) Amount Rs. Percent
1. Average working capital per society	9	31,181	5	97,405	1,08,086	+ 10,681 11.0
2. Percentage of owned to working capital	8	51.3	5	45.6	50.6	+ 5.0 11.0
3. Deposits per society	7	16,517	5	8,057	21,138	+ 13,081 162.4
4. Deposits per member	7	40	5	18	47	+ 29 161.1
5. Purchases made per society	7	2 lakhs	4	1.3 lakhs	1.5 lakhs	+ 0.2 lakh 15.4
6. Sales made per society	7	2.8 lakhs	5	3.5 lakhs	4.9 lakhs	+ 1.4 lakhs 40.0

10.7.4. The marketing societies showed an all-round improvement. Deposits were held in 7 blocks in 1959 but only in 5 in 1958. Societies in 3 blocks advanced credit in 1958-59. Sales as well as purchases were made by societies in 6 blocks, and either sales or purchases were undertaken by the marketing cooperatives in two other blocks. Societies in three blocks advanced loans in 1957-58 and/or 1958-59. The marketing services rendered by the societies are, however, generally few and limited to outright purchase and/or sale. Practically none of them has undertaken pooling or grading or processing of members' produce. Not many attempts have either been made to integrate marketing with credit.

10.7.5. It appears from the brief view attempted above that there has been in 1958-59 a general increase in the number and membership of cooperatives of all types. The working of the societies shows however different patterns among the different types. The credit societies showed a slightly lower volume of business and a small decline in the proportion of working capital owned. The multipurpose societies except a few cases, made a better showing than the credit cooperatives. The industrial cooperatives, in spite of the increase in their number being the largest, recorded a decrease in the membership per society and in working capital, and members' deposits and loans. It is only the marketing cooperatives that showed a general improvement in number and working. Their working capital, owned capital, deposits and business, all recorded significant increases in 1958-59.

11. *People's contribution and attitude:*

11.0.1. *Introduction.*—People's participation in development projects has been from the beginning one of the objectives of the C.D. programmes. Participation by the people can be both in the planning and the execution of development programmes. At the former stage, they can bring to bear on the formulation of plans their assessment of needs and resources, while in the latter they can take part in sharing the costs of development work and help its timely and economical execution. It is for this reason that we made an attempt in the course of our enquiry to assess the nature and extent of people's contribution to development projects in the blocks under study. The field staff were also asked to obtain an idea of the people's understanding of the basic purpose of the C.D. programme and their attitude towards it.

11.1.1. *People's contribution.*—The only aspect of people's participation that has been of some importance is their contribution, in cash and kind, to the cost of the development projects. The contributory method of work has many advantages; it reduces the burden of expenditure on the government, creates in the people a sense of pride in development projects, and helps in assessing the relative intensity of the people's need for different projects. Above all, it develops in them the spirit of self-help by discouraging the habit of depending entirely on the government to satisfy their needs. It is for these reasons that some contribution by the people has been from the beginning made an essential condition for the grant of subsidies and loans by the blocks. The procedure has necessarily made the progress of specific projects dependent on the extent to which the requisite contributions became available. The basic assumption behind this method of financing and execution is that the C.D. programme should include those items of common benefit, for which the people feel a need and are prepared to contribute from their own resources by making a voluntary economic sacrifice.

11.1.2. Reports from the blocks indicate that even though contributions have been forthcoming in a number of blocks for projects of common benefit, the basic philosophy behind this method has not permeated among the people noticeably. Since the progress in respect of specific projects has been made, as already pointed out, conditional on the availability of requisite contribution, and since the fulfilment of targets of expenditure has been the usual criterion of success, there has been in many cases a tendency to inflate the extent of people's contribution through the inclusion of unwarranted items as well as an excessive valuation of these. A few instances may be given here in support of this finding. Amounts shown as people's contribution in some of the blocks include sums paid by the panchayats out of their income from taxation or out of the amount received by them as grants from the government, or sometimes out of the value of labour obtained from the people in lieu of the labour tax. Some of these payments e.g., payments out of the income of the panchayat from taxation have been officially included in the list of people's contribution but they can hardly be called people's voluntary contribution in a fundamental sense. Besides, there have been cases where buildings which are of no value to the donors have been presented for public purposes. Contributions like these do not involve a real sacrifice on the part of the donors, but, on

the contrary, help them get such buildings repaired and improved besides earning the good-will of the people. There have also been instances in which a part of the expenditure on the construction of private irrigation works has been included in the category of people's contribution.

11.1.3. The methods used for evaluating people's contribution have, in many cases, tended to inflate their value. In extreme cases, the inflation has been sufficient to enable a project to be executed with only the funds made available by the government. The contribution of the people is in such cases, obviously fictitious.

11.2.1. *Nature of people's contribution.*—An attempt has been made by us to ascertain the nature of projects for which, and the form in which contributions have been made by the people, as well as the relative priority attached to these. It appears from the replies that contributions have been made in 1959 in 18 blocks for six kinds of projects: school buildings, repair and construction of wells for drinking water, roads, pavement of drains and streets, irrigation channels (field channels), and compost-pits. School buildings elicited contributions from the people in 11 blocks; repair and construction of drinking water wells and pavement of drains and streets in 5 blocks each; and roads, field channels and compost-pits in 3 each. School buildings received the first priority in 9 out of 11 blocks. Of the 19 specific projects which received the first priority in the concerned blocks in 1959, 9 were for school buildings, 3 each for drinking water wells, field channels, and roads, and 1 for compost-pits. Pavement of drains and roads did not receive the first priority in any block. In 9 blocks, the people made contribution for only one type of project, in 7 for 2 types and in one each for 3 and 4 types respectively.

11.2.2. These contributions were in cash as well as in labour in 9 out of 17 blocks for which information has been available. It was only in cash in 4 blocks and in the form of labour in the other 4.

11.3.1. *Growth in the amount of people's contribution in 1958-59.*—Comparable data for 1957-58 and 1958-59 show that people's contributions increased during this period in nearly one-half of the blocks and either declined or remained steady in the remaining half. Actual figures available for 7 S-11 and 6 S-I blocks are given in Table 1.19.

Table 1.19
People's contributions in 1957-58 and 1958-59

	Average per block (Rs.)		Difference (Rs.)	Per Capita per year (Rs.)		Difference Rs.	Rise in 1958-59 over 1957-58 %
	57-58†	58-59*		57-58*	58-59*		
S—I	60,546	69,493	+8,947	0.75	0.86	+0.11	+15.0
S—II	32,687	66,100	+33,413	0.35	0.71	+0.36	+102.0
All Blocks	45,545	67,666	+22,121	0.54	0.80	+0.26	+48.5

* Months covered are not uniform in different blocks ; in two blocks calendar years have been used.

† In 2 blocks for which 1957-58 figures are not available, the figures for an average of 2 years preceding 1958-59 have been used.

The average contribution of the people amounted to Rs. 67,666 per block, and Rs. 0.80 per capita in 1958-59 as compared with Rs. 45,545 and Rs. 0.54 respectively in 1957-58. It appears from the figures that the average amount contributed by the people per block as well as per capita increased significantly in 1958-59 in both categories of blocks. The average increase per block was of the order of 48.5 per cent. The S-I blocks recorded an increase of 15 per cent only as compared with an 102 per cent increase among the S-II. This sudden spurt in people's contributions in the S-II blocks in 1958-59 narrowed down considerably the disparity between S-I and S-II blocks in respect of people's contribution per block and per capita. It may be concluded from these figures that people's contributions towards the cost of development projects in the blocks in each group recorded a significant increase in 1958-59.

11.3.2. The numerical increase recorded above does not, however, tell the whole story. The way in which these contributions have been obtained and the method used for their evaluation do not necessarily reflect a comparable upsurge among the people for participation in development projects. It has been reported that in some of the blocks the block authorities had to use all means of persuasion to realise the requisite amount of people's contribution. In many cases the contributions were actually obtained from the funds of the panchayats, and not specifically raised for the particular projects for which they were used. There have also been reports of inflation of the estimates. Sometimes this inflation has also been the result of inclusion among the public projects of items of work of individual or private benefit.

11.3.3. The extent of people's contribution seems to be largely determined by the amount included in the block budget for public works. In very few blocks have there been instances of public works or development programmes of common benefit undertaken by the people without any financial and/or administrative sponsorship from the blocks. This is the reason why the amount of people's contribution recorded a sharp decline in the older blocks soon after the end of their intensive phase. There have also been complaints heard from the people in a number of blocks that the minimum ratio fixed for their contribution in respect of different projects has been rather high. In some blocks the people have ascribed their apathy to the practice of entrusting the construction work to contractors or to the P.W.D. This procedure tends to isolate the people from the execution of the project and encourage in them the belief that their contribution is sought merely to reduce the government's share of the costs.

In spite of these complaints, however, people's contribution to school buildings has not recorded decline in many blocks, though it fell in the case of many of the other projects.

11.4.1. *Attitude towards C.D. programme.*—Our investigators tried to ascertain whether the villagers in each block had a right appreciation and understanding of the C.D. Programme and, in particular, if they regarded it as their own. This enquiry is necessarily inadequate in respect of coverage as well as the method followed. In the first place, the attitudes and reactions of the people are not the same in all the villages in a block. It is not, therefore, easy to generalise about people's reactions in terms of blocks and compare different blocks on this basis without an elaborate attitude survey. Secondly, because of the limited nature of our enquiry, we did not record the views of individual villagers and analyse them statistically. All we could do was to obtain from the respondents in each block a general pattern of reactions arrived at through the consensus method. It is for both these reasons that the findings given here lack scientific precision. They merely reflect the general nature of the attitude among the majority of the villagers interviewed.

11.4.2. Reports from one block only suggest that the people in this area consider the C.D. programme as their own and realise that it can be implemented only by them. In fact, the people in a number of villages in this block have taken up several projects on their own. The problem of drainage is being solved on a voluntary basis; improved agricultural practices are being adopted without much persuasion; school buildings have been constructed on self-help basis. While a similar attitude has been found in a few villages in one or two other blocks, it is not characteristic of other blocks as of this one.

11.4.3. In 2 blocks the general attitude of the people is rather non-committal. An average villager regards the C.D. programme neither as his own nor merely as a government activity. In general, however, they realise that the programme is for their own benefit. The views and reactions of the people differ from village to village depending on the educational, the economic and the social level, and the leadership and efficiency of the Gram Sevak.

11.4.4. Replies received from the investigators in 13 blocks suggest that most people in these areas look upon the C.D. programme as a government scheme for rural welfare. The form in which this attitude manifests itself and the strength behind it vary among the blocks. In

some blocks, the majority of the people think that "since the government is out to develop the rural areas, it should do everything without seeking any contribution from the people". In a number of blocks this attitude has grown partly from the fact that the development programmes are being implemented through the government agencies rather than through people's organisations. Besides, the combination of revenue and development functions in the block administration in some areas has led the people to identify the B.D.O. with the revenue officials. In some cases the reliance on the government has grown as a result of the heavy expenditure of funds during the intensive phase which raised the expectations of the people and made them feel that the responsibility for rural development was with the government. While this is a general pattern of attitude among the majority of the people in the blocks concerned, there are groups in each of these areas who take a more favourable attitude and view the C.D. programme in the proper perspective, just as there are people still largely ignorant about its nature and content.

11.4.5. Finally, reports from two blocks suggest that the majority of the people are not convinced about the necessity or the utility of the programme. In one block they believe that it has been thrust upon them by the government and that its execution is merely the government's responsibility. In another block many villagers go to the extent of saying that the "programme benefits the officials more than the people". Most of them do not consider it as their own. There has, however, been evidence in one of these blocks of a slight change in this attitude after the formation of the block development committee.

11.4.6. People's reactions in most of the blocks studied are not yet generally favourable to the growth of self-reliance in village communities which is the primary aim of the C.D. programme. The majority of the villagers do not regard it as their own programme and seem to rely mainly on the government to effect the development of the rural areas. The basic philosophy and approach of the C.D. programme are therefore, inadequately subscribed to by the people in these areas.

CHAPTER 11

Summary of Current Evaluation of Eighteen Selected Blocks

Introduction:

1.1. The present study marks the first step in the direction of a comprehensive evaluation of the community development programme. Based on a quick survey of the progress in almost all aspects of the programme in 1959-60, the study is, however, a tentative one and at best, in the nature of a rough sketch. The investigation work had to be confined to only 18 blocks spread over 13 States.

1.2. In our efforts to obtain statistics, we met with serious difficulty in many cases due to the paucity and incompleteness of the records available in the blocks.

Agriculture:

2.1. The number of agricultural problems considered most important by the people and the officials in 18 block areas has been found to be 21, the number and nature of problems varying from block to block. Most blocks seem to have 1 to 3 problems, only 6 have 4 or more problems.

2.2. Lack of irrigation facilities has been cited as a problem in the largest number of blocks, 14 out of 18. Pests and diseases have been mentioned as one of the most important problems in 6 blocks, soil erosion in 5, and floods in 3 blocks.

2.3. An estimate of the land reclaimed over the period of the programme has been made for a number of blocks. Where actual figures of the area reclaimed were not available, the reduction (up to June 1959) in the area of the cultivable waste in a block has been taken as a rough index of the progress of reclamation. Reclamation seems to have added, in an average, about 5% to the cultivated area of the blocks, the actual proportion varying from 0.3% to 23% in the selected blocks.

2.4. On an average, the irrigated area per block went up during the block period by about 5600 acres or by 37.5 per cent. It rose in all blocks, except one in which it underwent a slight decline. The increase has been very high in six blocks.

2.5. The proportion of the irrigated to the net cultivated area in the selected blocks varied widely from 1.2% to 97.1% in 1958-59 and from 0.5% to 79.3% in the pre-block year. Though the irrigated area has risen by about 37.5%, its proportion to the cultivated area has risen by 3.8% only, as the area under cultivation has also expanded. The irrigation programme is forging ahead in most blocks simultaneously with extension of cultivation to new areas.

2.6. Soil conservation measures have been adopted in 14 blocks, in nine of which these largely included the construction of bunds in the traditional way on the boundary of plots. Only five blocks reported adoption of scientific measures like contour bunding, drainage works etc.

2.7. Improved seeds and fertilizers were distributed in 1958-59 in almost every block for one or more crops. In 10 blocks the percentage of the area under the principal crops on which improved seeds have been used ranged from less than 1 to 73 in 1958-59. The acreage under improved seeds of paddy ranged in 10 blocks from .01% to 63.3%. As much as 89% to 100% of the sugarcane acreage were reportedly under improved seeds in 4 blocks.

2.8. Fertilizers were being used in these blocks in 1958-59 on 0.7% to 53.5% of the area of the principal crops. While the use of fertilizers has increased generally in all blocks, there is scope for much greater extension on both irrigated and unirrigated areas.

2.9. Among the cultural practices line sowing was the most widely accepted practice; the Japanese method of paddy cultivation came next.

2.10. Improved cultural practices seem to be spreading very slowly, even if one notes only the number of blocks in which they have come into vogue. Some of the important reasons are: shortage of improved seeds, lack of irrigation, shortage and delay in the supply of fertilizers.

2.11. Efforts for the propagation of improved varieties of seeds, use of improved implements and extension of fertilizers and better cultural practices are, however, being made generally in all blocks.

2.12. A tendency towards more intensive cropping and to grow more garden and vegetable crops is discernible in many blocks. But farming in almost all the blocks is confined merely to arable cultivation.

2.13. In 3 blocks, some progress has been achieved in the introduction of non-food crops like Sea Island cotton, cashewnut, cigarette tobacco and mustard.

2.14. In 10 blocks, the ratio of cereals and pulses to cash crops has remained steady during the block period. In four blocks, it has changed in favour of the cash crops, the change being very marked in one. In the remaining 4 blocks, the shift has been the other way, from cash to food crops.

2.15. Demonstration continues to be the main extension technique. It should be very effective in a conservative and illiterate community, though, obviously, its impact depends on the manner in which it is done.

2.16. In 3 blocks, the investigators did not find it possible to make any comments on the trend in the yield per acre of crops since the inception of the blocks. Of the remaining 15 blocks, yield in 2 are estimated to have shown an all-round improvement, and no change in one other block. In 12 blocks the trend in yields was not uniform for all crops. The evidence gathered enables us only to say that there has been an increase in the yield per acre for some crops and in some blocks.

Animal husbandry and fisheries:

3.1. The popularity of artificial insemination has been on the increase and a larger proportion of the cultivators seems to be taking to it, in spite of the fee that is generally charged for the servicing.

3.2. The emphasis in respect of upgrading of the breed of animals has been on the supply of breeding bulls. The blocks show fairly wide variations in the number so far distributed. Different methods have been adopted in different blocks for this programme. The progress achieved in respect of the improvement of breeds through the supply of pedigree animals seems to show fairly wide variations from block to block.

3.3. It is as yet a little early to try any sort of final assessment of the impact of these programmes on the quality and performance of the animals. There is considerable scope, however, for extension effort particularly in the direction of the education of the villagers and the wearing down of their resistance to desirable changes.

3.4. In 10 to 12 of the blocks studied, no definite programme has been undertaken for the purpose of increasing the acreage under fodder crops. In four blocks there has been a systematic and serious emphasis laid on the programme for expanding fodder cultivation. The location of the blocks seems to indicate that the progress in respect

of fodder cultivation has been very uneven, and mainly confined to the northern and the western parts of the country.

3.5. In some blocks, notable progress has been recorded in the inoculation and vaccination of livestock. In general, the people in all the blocks are willing to avail themselves of veterinary aid if it is available in time and without much trouble.

3.6. Attempts seem to have been made to popularise poultry-keeping fairly generally in almost all the blocks under study. Most blocks seem to have done fairly intensive propaganda and publicity, designed to popularise poultry-keeping among the villagers. In spite of such intensive campaign, however, the programme in respect of poultry birds does not show a uniformly high level of achievement. The most important difficulty that it seems to have run into in many areas is the heavy casualty among the birds soon after their distribution.

3.7. Programmes for the development of piggery and the improvement of the quality of sheep and goats have been undertaken in only three blocks. The progress has been very slow.

3.8. Only eight blocks have so far taken specific steps for the development of fisheries in their areas. Not only has the progress in this field been slow but the programme seems to have run into a number of serious difficulties.

Organisation and distribution of supplies:

4.1. Fourteen blocks have only one agency for the distribution of improved seeds and fertilizers, the remaining 4 being covered by 2 agencies operating concurrently. Among the 17 in which arrangements exist for the distribution of pesticides, 12 are covered by only one agency, 4 by two agencies, and one by three. Of the blocks in which agencies for supplying improved implements exist, 10 are covered by only one agency and two by more than one.

4.2. Cooperative societies have been the most common agency for the distribution of fertilisers and the least for that of implements. The block offices have been used most widely for the distribution of seeds and the least for fertilizers. The Agriculture Departments have been responsible for the distribution of pesticides, seeds and even implements in a number of blocks, though in each case

to a smaller extent than cooperatives or the blocks as the case may be. Different agencies have been used concurrently in the same block even for the same commodity. There are, however, one or two instances in which one agency, either the block office or the cooperatives has undertaken the distribution of these commodities.

4.3. Multiplicity as well as dispersion of the supply points is essential from the point of view of accessibility of the sources of supply. In 11 blocks the centres of supply for the commodities studied are considered to be within the easy reach of the cultivators.

4.4. The question of adequacy or inadequacy of supply is linked with the other criteria of efficiency of the distribution system. In 10 of the 18 blocks in the sample, supplies at the government distribution centres in 1959 were reported to have been adequate to meet the actual demand made on them.

4.5. In one-half of the blocks studied there have been complaints regarding delay in the receipt of supplies of one or more of the commodities under study.

4.6. Dis-satisfaction with the quality of one or more of the commodities supplied has been expressed in the villages in 4 blocks.

4.7. In one-half of the blocks there has been a feeling among the people that the prices charged for one or more of the commodities were relatively high and not within their available resources.

4.8. It seems that the distribution system in respect of fertilisers, insecticides, improved seeds and improved implements leaves considerable scope for improvement in almost all the blocks in one or more respects. Thus, improvements can be effected in regard to timeliness and prices in at least one-half of the blocks studied; adequacy and accessibility in about one-third and quality in about one-fifth. There are only 2 blocks from which no shortcomings in respect of distribution of supplies have been reported. Besides, the blocks have not yet been able to administer all the functions of supply and distribution, many of which are still in the hands of the departments of the State Government; and except in respect of fertilisers the blocks have not yet fully succeeded in entrusting the job to the cooperatives.

Village industries:

5.1. Among the existing cottage and village industries, hand-loom weaving, found in 15 blocks, is the most common craft. Smithy, found in 12 blocks comes next, followed by tanning (11), carpentry (11), bamboo work (10) and pottery (9). In some blocks, new crafts have been introduced during the block period.

5.2. The general approach to the development of village industries has been to make arrangements for providing training in arts and crafts, offering technical guidance, organising facilities for the procurement of raw materials and equipment, developing or extending sources of credit to the artisans and helping them in the marketing of their products. Organisation of industrial cooperatives has been taken up in many blocks in the hope that these will play an important part at least in regard to the supply of raw materials, the provision of credit and the improvement of marketing conditions.

5.3. The training of artisans is a very common activity of the blocks in this field. It has, however, been noticed in some blocks that many persons join these centres for the sake of the stipend only and do not follow the trade or the craft later on.

5.4. Some steps have been taken to facilitate the supply of raw materials and equipment needed by the village industries in 12 of the 16 blocks for which information is available.

5.5. Measures have been adopted in all the blocks for improving credit facilities in general to the artisans (credit not only for purchase of raw materials, but for all other purposes). The largest coverage of the blocks in respect of credit facilities was provided by the cooperatives and the Industries Departments, followed by the all-India Boards/Commissions, and the block administration in the respective order.

5.6. Depots and emporia have been opened in seven blocks either by the Department or by cooperative associations. Besides, stalls are generally put up at exhibitions and fairs. Cooperative marketing organisations have been functioning in some of the villages in three blocks.

Health:

6.1. Among the important health problems reported from the selected blocks, inadequacy of suitable drinking water is considered the most important in 10 blocks. The second in the order of importance among the health problems is the existence of insanitary and un-hygienic conditions in the villages, followed by the absence of latrines, and inadequacy of medical aid. Malaria and leprosy came next in order of importance. The other health problems reported by the investigators include goitre, filaria, small-pox, guinea-worm and lack of drainage.

6.2. Programmes for improving the rural water supply were taken up in all the selected areas during the block period. In 3 blocks the position in regard to water supply is now fairly satisfactory as a result of the construction and renovation of an adequate number of drinking water wells during the project period. In the other 15 blocks the problem is being tackled through the installation of hand-pumps, construction and repair of ring wells, filter-point wells and ordinary wells.

6.3. Attempts have been made in all the blocks to popularise improved latrines by educating people in the advantage of such latrines and extending financial or other assistance to individuals for their construction. Public latrines have also been constructed in some villages in 5 blocks. Improved latrines have not reportedly become popular practically anywhere because of an unfavourable response from the people. It seems that the most important reason for the tardy progress has been the reluctance of the people to give up their age-old habits and to appreciate the need for using latrines. Provision for removing dirt and night soil, coupled with intensive latrine promotion and health education campaign by the block people, seem to be the essential pre-requisites for the success of this programme.

6.4. Anti-epidemic and protective measures like inoculation and vaccination, were adopted promptly to bring under control epidemics which occurred in the villages in 3 blocks in 1959. These measures proved very effective except in one block where the difficulty of communication with the district headquarters affected the conducting of the campaign. Some blocks have recorded striking progress in combating epidemics and other diseases and reducing both their frequency and incidence.

6.5. Hospitals, dispensaries, primary health centres and sub-centres are the principal types of health institutions found in the rural areas. Medical facility of some sort or other is available in all the blocks; but the number, type

and standard of health institutions vary widely among the blocks. One block has got just a primary health centre and another just a dispensary. On the other hand, 2 blocks have got all the four types, primary health centres, dispensaries, hospitals and sub-centres and 6 have got 3 of these.

6.6. In the 15 blocks with hospitals and dispensaries, the average coverage of an institution of any of these two types in 1959 was 34.5 thousand persons (in terms of census data for 1951). As regards the population catered by medical or health institutions of any type, the indicator shows a much better position, the average population covered being 15.2 thousand in the 18 blocks.

6.7. Maternity and child welfare centres exist in 12 or two-thirds of the blocks. In 4 of the other 6, maternity and child welfare service is available either at the hospital or at one or more of the health centres or sub-centres. The recent official policy seems to be to provide maternity and child welfare service as an integral part of the activities of the health centre.

6.8. Health education is the most important desideratum. The assistance available from the blocks has not been availed of in many blocks as the requisite people's participation was not forthcoming. In some blocks, full use of facilities like drinking water wells, hospitals and dispensaries is not made, nor are they properly maintained.

Education:

7.1. On an average, there were in 1959 in the 18 selected blocks 0.6 primary schools per village and about 1.16 schools of all types covering every thousand of the population (1951). The number of primary schools per thousand population was, however, 1.03 and these catered, on an average, to 147 children in the schoolgoing ages (6—11 years).

7.2. Wide variations have, however, been observed among the blocks in respect of the nature and quality of the schools.

7.3. The average number of educational institutions other than primary schools (i.e. middle schools, high schools, etc.) in the blocks under study work out to 0.13 per thousand population (1951). The number of such schools per thousand population varies from 0.02 to 0.43, and shows more of a disparity among the blocks than the primary schools.

7.4. 206 out of the 1488 primary schools in the 18 blocks or roughly 13·8 per cent have been converted into basic schools upto January, 1960. It has been reported from many areas that this conversion has not fundamentally changed the syllabus. The Mysore Conference suggested that some craft work should be introduced in all the schools and that in selecting it, attention should be given to its relationship with the environment. Evidently, this recommendation is not yet being properly implemented.

7.5. Schools in 73 villages spread over 15 blocks showed some improvement in attendance in 1958-59 over the previous year. There are, however, wide variations from block to block, from 4 per cent and 5 per cent in some to 50 per cent and 71 per cent in others. A slight improvement is noticed in the attendance of Harijan children at schools in most blocks. In some blocks the increase in the attendance of Harijan children has been brought about largely by the aid given by the Government. In general, it is true, however, that attempts to attract increasing numbers of Harijan children into primary schools in the rural areas have not so far produced outstanding results.

7.6. In 16 out of 17 blocks for which information is available no extra effort was made to provide recreational facilities in schools. In some blocks the sports and other equipment obtained by the schools, sometimes with the help of a 50 per cent subsidy from the block, have not been maintained properly.

7.7. Skimmed milk powder is being distributed in some of the villages in 11 blocks. In the remaining 7 blocks, no such distribution has yet been undertaken in any village. In the 11 blocks in which milk is distributed in schools, very few villages have actually been covered by the scheme. Only 5 of the 18 blocks have reported arrangements for provision of mid-day meals in some schools in their areas. The main difficulty in the way of introduction or extension of this scheme seems to arise from the villagers' reluctance or inability to make the matching contribution.

7.8. Recreational facilities and other amenities provided in the villages seem to be rather scanty. Most schools do not have them at all. Besides, materials once supplied were not regularly replaced and in many cases have become unusable.

7.9. In only 6 blocks has some training in the philosophy and working of the CD programme been given to some of the village school teachers, mainly through training and/or orientation camps or Shibir. In general, the

training has not been adequate, chiefly because there was no attempt to utilise the services of trained teachers.

7.10. Reports from 13 blocks indicate that the village teachers do not take much interest in the CD programme, though in a few blocks they help to a very limited extent in the adult literacy classes. In the areas where school teachers have played some part, their activity has ranged over a wide field from mobilising 'Shramdan' and supervising the construction of school buildings to taking an active part in the Rabi and Khariff Crop Campaigns and in other agricultural extension activities. In some blocks, the teachers have also helped in organising village leaders' training camps and libraries, etc. A number of teachers in a few blocks have, however, been reported to be very critical of the C.D. programme and, in particular, of the approach and attitude of the block administration.

Social education:

8.1. The effective number of vacancies among the SEOs in the selected blocks was of the order of 19 per cent of the posts throughout 1959.

8.2. 291 community centres, 174 women's organisations and 438 youth clubs were found in the blocks at the time of our enquiry. A block has, on an average, 18 community centres, 11 women's organisations and 24 youth clubs. The percentage of villages which have these institutions is still very low. There were only 15.0 community centres, 8.4 women's organisations, and 18.0 youth clubs per 100 villages. The selected blocks had in December, 1959 an average of one community centre for four thousand six hundred people, one women's organisation for about seven and a half thousand, and one youth club for about three thousand and three hundred persons.

8.3. On an average, a block has organised 3.2 community centres, 1.9 women's organisations and 4.4 youth clubs per year or 9.5 institutions of these three types per year since inception. This net out-turn per year is larger for the S-I than for the S-II blocks.

8.4. The average number per block of community centres and youth clubs (20.6 and 23.7 respectively) organised in the intensive phase is much higher than those in the later period (7.9 and 11.7 respectively).

8.5. Nearly 60 per cent of the social education institutions organised up to December, 1959 by the older blocks have become either inactive or defunct. This high

rate of mortality is found uniformly among the three types of social education institutions and is a matter of serious concern.

8.6. The community centres seem to have failed in many blocks to strike roots. In one block all women's organisations are inactive; in 7 others 14 per cent to 70 per cent of them are almost defunct. In many blocks, appreciable proportions of youth clubs are reportedly inactive. Those youth clubs which are working usually confine their activities to sports and recreations.

8.7. The proportion of persons made literate to the total population ranges from 1 to 3.3 per cent in 4 blocks. The adult literacy classes are not confined always to adults. Children below 15 years also attend such classes in a number of blocks. Lack of adequate emphasis on follow-up is the main shortcoming in 7 blocks. In one block the pilot project for education has given a new lease of life to the adult literacy programme; but the SEO does not have the time to devote sufficient attention to it. The adult literacy programme is usually liked by the villagers.

Democratic decentralisation:

9.1. By 1959 all States had not only passed panchayat Acts, but also set up panchayats over most parts. Some States have also undertaken the revision of the old panchayat acts in the light of the new requirements for democratic development.

9.2. The States which have implemented or propose to implement the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta team, are agreed on the need for village panchayats, but have not, in all cases, accepted its recommendations for setting up statutory bodies at the district and block levels.

9.3. Reports from a few of the blocks suggest that the panchayats in these areas are taking an active interest in planning. Reports from a large number of the other blocks generally present a picture of inadequate participation by the panchayats in planning work and of ineffective functioning by them in general.

9.4. The reasons for the unsatisfactory functioning of the panchayats can be grouped into two broad categories: Firstly, there are a number of limitations imposed on the power and authority of the panchayats and the manner of

their execution by the terms of the Statutes passed in the different States. The second group of reasons relate actually to the manner in which the panchayats have been functioning within the frame-work of the Statutory powers and duties assigned to them.

9.5. The factors underlying the second group of reasons relate (i) to the sociological framework of the rural leadership and relationship patterns in which the panchayats have to function, (ii) the procedure followed in the conduct of their business, and (iii) the relationship of the panchayats with the government departments and officials.

9.6. Generally speaking, considerable powers have been given to the block development committees. This opportunity is not being properly utilised at least in some blocks.

9.7. The deliberations in district statutory bodies are usually conducted at a high level, because many of the members have been or are members of the legislatures and other public bodies.

9.8. In the districts where statutory bodies have not been set up, the non-statutory committees are working in an advisory capacity. In some instances, these have been reported to work indifferently.

Cooperation:

10.1. By far the largest proportion of cooperatives (46 per cent.) consists of credit societies. Next in numerical importance are the multi-purpose societies. These two together account for about two-thirds of the cooperative societies in the blocks. The marketing societies are found in 11 blocks. The industrial cooperatives, found in all blocks but two, are more widespread.

10.2. The number of societies in the blocks has risen during 1958-59 by 29 per cent. The increase in the number of credit, multi-purpose, industrial and marketing co-operatives amounted to 10, 6, 77 and 63 per cent respectively.

10.3. The average number of cooperatives per 100 villages was 62 in June, 1959, as compared to 59 in June, 1958. The membership of cooperatives increased by 20 per cent, and the proportion of house-holds covered by them rose from 36 to 43 per cent. The average membership per society, however, came down by 4.2. This shows that the rise in membership was proportionately less than that in the number of societies.

10.4. There has been in 1958-59 a general increase in the number and membership of cooperatives of all types. The working of the societies shows, however, different patterns among the different types. The credit societies showed a slightly lower volume of business and small decline in the proportion of working capital owned. The multi-purpose societies, except a few poor ones, did a better showing than the credit cooperatives. The industrial cooperatives, in spite of the largest increase in their number, recorded a decrease in the membership per society and in the working capital and members' deposits and loans. It is only the marketing cooperatives that show a general improvement in their number and working. Their working capital, owned capital, deposits and business, all recorded a significant increase in 1958-59.

People's contribution and attitude:

11.1. Some contribution by the people has been from the beginning made an essential condition for the grant of subsidies and loans by the block.

11.2. Since the progress in respect of specific projects has been made conditional on the availability of requisite contribution, and since the fulfilment of targets of expenditure has been the usual criterion of success, there has been in many cases a tendency to inflate the extent of people's contribution by the inclusion of undeserved items as well as an excessive valuation of these. In extreme cases, the inflation has been sufficient to enable a project to be executed practically within the funds made available by the Government.

11.3. Contributions have been made in 1959 in 18 blocks for six kinds of projects: school buildings, repair and construction of wells for drinking water, roads, pavement of drains and roads, irrigation channels (field channels), and compost-pits. School buildings received the first priority in 9 out of 11 blocks. Of the 19 specific projects which received the first priority in the concerned blocks in 1959, 9 were for school buildings, 3 each for drinking water wells, field channels, and roads, and 1 for compost-pits.

11.4. These contributions were made both in cash and in the form of labour in 9 out of 17 blocks for which information has been available. They were only in the form of cash in 4 blocks and in the form of labour in the other 4.

11.5. People's contributions increased during this period in nearly one-half of the blocks and either declined or re-

mained steady in the remaining half. However, in very few blocks have there been instances of public works or development programmes of common benefit undertaken by the people without any financial and/or administrative sponsorship from the blocks.

11.6. People's reactions in most of the blocks studied are not yet generally favourable to the growth of self-reliance in village communities which is the primary aim of the C. D. programme. The majority of the villagers do not regard it as their own and seem to rely mainly on the Government for effecting the development of the rural areas. The basic philosophy and approach of the C. D. programme are, therefore, inadequately subscribed to by the people in these areas.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER III

EVALUATION OF THE 1958-59 RABI CROP CAMPAIGN

1. *General introduction*

1.1. Reviewing the food situation with his cabinet colleagues on the eve of the rabi season, 1958-59, the Prime Minister urged that a food production drive should be taken up during the season. The Minister for Food and Agriculture acting on the suggestion initiated the Rabi Crop Campaign on August 5, 1958. He wrote to the Chief Ministers of the States that substantially higher yields were reported during the crop competitions, and if everything possible was done by the Government, enough could be done to boost up production even in the face of possible natural calamities. Among the programmes to be stressed under the campaign, he emphasized the building up of an efficient organisation at all levels, the coordination of the departmental arrangements for timely supply of seeds, manures, improved implements etc., and the mobilisation of cultivators.

1.2. The evaluation of the campaign was undertaken by the P.E.O. at the request of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. At a meeting of the Chairman, Programme Evaluation Board (P.E.B.), the officers of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation held on October 1, 1958, it was agreed that the evaluation would be confined to three States, viz., Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan. In pursuance of this decision, the Chairman, PEB, had a meeting with the representatives of the Agriculture Departments of the three States on October 15. It was then decided that the study would be taken up in Amritsar, Ludhiana and Hissar districts in the Punjab; in Sri Ganganagar, Bharatpur, and Kota in Rajasthan and in Muzaffarnagar, Rae Bareilly and Deoria in U.P. The selection of districts was determined in the light of the personnel resources of the P.E.O. and the distribution of the selected rabi crops in the States.

1.3. In each district a representative block and non-block area with comparable agricultural conditions were selected in consultation with District Agriculture Officer and Deputy Commissioner for intensive study. Ten villages

were selected at random from each district, five each from the block and the non-block area. In each of these villages detailed information about the campaign was collected from 15 respondents drawn from three groups of cultivators, big, medium, and small, in proportion to their numbers.

1.4. In the non-block area of Kota (Degod Tehsil) in Rajasthan, however, the villages were selected in that part of the Tehsil where the rabi campaign was reported to have been actually taken up by the district authorities. In Sri Ganganagar the villages were too small to give a sample of 15 cultivators in each of the three size groups. Hence five panchayats, instead of five villages, were selected and two or three contiguous *chaks* in each panchayat area were grouped together to constitute a frame of at least 75 cultivators for selecting the required 15.

1.5. Information was collected from Government organisations at different levels; the building up and the conduct of the campaign were observed; and questionnaires canvassed with respondents in the selected villages during three periods *viz.*, October-November 1958, December 1958-January 1959 and April-May 1959 covering the three phases of rabi crop calendar *viz.*, pre-sowing and sowing, maturing and harvesting respectively.

1.6. Information was collected from the respondents on their knowledge and adoption of improved practices in the rabi seasons of 1957-58 and 1958-59. The content of each practice was ascertained from the Agriculture Officers in the areas concerned; and some rough tests of knowledge and adoption were decided. The replies of the respondents have been used as the data of the report. In the case of preparation of soil, irrigation, top dressing and weeding and interculture, the criterion employed was the number of times these should, according to the agriculture department, have been done by the cultivators. Where a cultivator did not do them the recommended number of times, he was considered as not having adopted them. In the case of improved seeds, line sowing, basal application and roguing, the criterion was whether he had adopted them or not as recommended by the department. But insufficient use of fertilizers in basal application and top dressing, imperfect line-sowing, inadequate weeding etc., could not be checked. They have been ignored.

1.7. The progress made in the rabi season of 1958-59 over 1957-58 has been indicated in the reports. But an increase in the adoption of sponsored practices cannot be

directly taken to be a measure of the impact of the campaign. It could be due to other factors especially the normal radiation of knowledge already with farmers. To eliminate the influence of this factor, it was necessary specifically to ask the cultivators who followed a practice in 1958-59, if in adopting it they were influenced by the campaign or not. Some of these farmers might have acquired knowledge of the practice in earlier years but did not happen to grow the crop in 1957-58. The fact that they did so in 1958-59 could not necessarily be ascribed to the campaign.

1.8. Among the questions asked were the reasons for total and partial non-adoption of improved practices by the farmers. Their answers give us an idea, *inter-alia*, of the extent of technical knowledge among cultivators. They also suggest how future extension efforts should be framed.

1.9. Information about the yield of the campaign crops was collected from the respondents through a questionnaire and not from crop cutting. The respondents were called upon to comment on the reasons for the difference, if any, in the yield between the previous and the current season. On this basis, an attempt has been made roughly to estimate the impact of the campaign on the yield of wheat, the most important crop.

1.10. One of the important aims of the campaign was to orient Gram Sahayaks or village leaders towards the sponsored practices so that they could help spread them among the mass of cultivators. In order to assess their contribution, a questionnaire was prepared for such of the sample cultivators as had attended the Gram Sahayaks training camps. However, as the number of such cultivators in the sample proved inadequate, 15 other Gram Sahayaks in each State, 5 from each of the three selected blocks, were further selected for canvassing the special questionnaire. The information collected in this manner helps us compare the technical knowledge of Gram Sahayaks with that of other cultivators, and assess the contribution they made to the campaign as unofficial extension agents.

1.11. The studies conducted in the selected States of Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. have been brought out as a separate publication. An attempt has been made in this chapter to summarise their findings and conclusions. These are stated here, necessarily, in broad terms. For details, the readers should refer to the studies themselves.

2. Summary of Results

Planning of the campaign:

2.1. The plan of the campaign was drawn up in U.P. in June, in Rajasthan in August and in the Punjab in September, 1958. The crops covered were wheat, gram and barley in the three states, and peas too in U.P. Again, in the Punjab the campaign covered the wheat crop in all the districts, but gram and barley in a selected few only. In Rajasthan, the intensive part of the campaign was confined to certain areas in selected districts. The practices chosen for the campaign varied from crop to crop, but they were, in most cases, those which had been recommended by the Agriculture Department.

2.2. In all the three States campaign committees were set up at the State and lower levels. In the Punjab, production targets were laid down and officers of the Agriculture, Cooperation and Panchayat departments were required to undertake joint tours, and adopt individual villages. In Rajasthan, decision was taken to concentrate on areas of low output and VLWs were required to prepare lists of farms with low yields. Officials and non-servicemen were required to adopt particular villages and prepare schedules of action. Crop competitions were to be held and prizes awarded to the best producers and the areas showing the best results. In U.P. the greatest emphasis was laid on the rationalization of arrangements for distributing seeds and fertilizers. Pledges were to be taken from cultivators that they would adopt the improved practices. Higher officials and members of the action committees were asked to organize surprise checks, and legislators requested by the Chief Minister to take active part in the campaign.

Impact of the campaign:

2.3. The ultimate objective of a cooperative campaign is to influence the knowledge, the attitude and the behaviour of farmers in favour of improved cultural practices. The extent to which this objective is reached depends on the quality and quantity of the extension effort undertaken. But where the cultivator's own resources are inadequate or market arrangements are imperfect, the extension effort has to be supported by improvement in the organisation of supply. Thus though improvement of supply may not be in itself an objective of a crop campaign, it may come about as a by-product—

an important by-product—of the concentrated effort. We have assessed the rabi crop campaign in the three States in these terms.

2.4. In all the three States, the best achievement of the campaign was in respect of supply arrangements. They were strengthened in all of them. In the Punjab permits for fertilizers were issued in the villages and on the farms. The Government of Rajasthan laid great emphasis on supply and offered good seeds on credit to farmers at less than the market price. In U.P. the distribution of seeds and fertilizers was rationalized, and more cultivators than in the previous year obtained them from institutional agencies. Some idea of the efficacy of the supply arrangements can be had from the data given in the table below:

Table 3.1

Arrangements for the supply of seeds and fertilizers to sample cultivators in selected areas.

State	% using improved seeds	% using fertilizers*	% depending on institutional agencies for improved seeds	% not using because of non-availability of supply of *	
				Seeds	Fertilizers
1	2	3	4	5	6
Punjab.	91.6	21.7	17.1	8.4	0.3
Rajasthan	50.4	18.5	22.5	21.1	10.4
U.P.	81.7	36.8	45.5	17.4	12.9

*Use of fertilizers for basal application and top dressing has been counted separately.

In the Punjab it appears that most cultivators had already been using improved seeds. In Rajasthan the use of improved seeds was, to a great extent, made possible by the decision to use institutional agencies like the cooperatives and panchayats, as outlets. In U.P. also the improved arrangements for supply contributed significantly to the use of improved seed. The use of fertilizers for basal application or top dressing was still at a low level in all the States though considerable progress was made during the campaign. But the low level of use was not due to so much deficiency of supply as to other reasons.

2.5. It would seem from the working of the campaign in the three States, that to bring about a rapid increase in agricultural output, the Government will have, in the circumstances of our rural economy, to rely very largely on institutional agencies for the distribution of seeds, fertilizers, finance etc., to the farmers. But the campaign would leave a permanent mark, if its experience is used to convert what were necessarily *ad hoc* arrangements into permanent alternations.

2.6. Our impressions about some other organisational aspects of the campaign are not so favourable. In all the three States the campaign remained, more or less, an official affair. In the Punjab the State level committee was to include representatives of the Farmers' Forum. But the proceedings of the meetings of the committee do not show that these persons participated in its deliberations. In Rajasthan the adoption of particular villages by officials and non-servicemen for intensive work did not amount to much. Again, progressive farmers were expected to make specific recommendations with regard to campaign items, but this expectation was not fulfilled. In U.P. the action committee consisted of officials only. Non-servicemen including M.Ps. and MLAs did not share in the leadership in spite of the special appeal made by the Chief Minister. The few non-servicemen who did so were mostly Gram Sahayaks and office-bearers of panchayats and cooperatives. The following table (Table 3.2) brings out in more concrete terms, the small part played by non-servicemen in the campaign:

Table 3.2

Percentage of respondents who had heard about campaign

State	Knowledge of the campaign	Source of knowledge		
		Officials	Non-servicemen	Both
1. Punjab	68.2	60.4	1.3	6.4
2. Rajasthan	60.0	27.1	23.6	9.3
3. U.P.	77.6	66.0	6.2	5.3

Knowledge of the campaign was more widespread in U.P. than in the other two States. Officials, mostly extension officers, in particular of the Agriculture Department and VLWs, constituted the single important source by which it was disseminated. A significant proportion of

farmers in Rajasthan got the information from non-official persons; but this was primarily because seeds and fertilizers were supplied through panchayats and cooperatives. To associate with campaigns public men who cannot or do not actually participate does no good to their reputation or to the working of the campaign.

2.7. The remarks obviously do not apply to Gram Sahayaks. They have their role in the campaign cut out by their status as farm leaders. They had, moreover, had the advantage of attending training camps specifically organised for the campaign. Their functions were to lead others in the adoption of improved practices by example and precept. Our enquiries show that generally speaking the Gram Sahayaks did better than other villagers in the adoption of improved practices, though in some instances, they lagged behind. They did set the example to others at least in some measure. But they were not quite effective as agents of propagation except in U.P. Either they did not exert themselves sufficiently, or they were not themselves fully convinced even of what they did, or they are not leaders in the true sense, that is, persons whose actions are emulated or whose advice is listened to by others.

2.8. Another shortcoming of the campaign was the unevenness of its tempo. It was not maintained adequately over the season. In the Punjab after the first few days following the issue of directives, it was carried out in a half-hearted manner. Indeed, in many areas there was hardly any effort after sowing. This is true also of Rajasthan and U.P. where again the tempo fell sharply after the sowing operations. This fall in the tempo affected the impact of the campaign in respect of the practices which are relevant to the later stages of cultivation. It also raises doubts in the mind of the farmer about the seriousness of the enterprise. The impact of the campaign on the people's mind might be stronger, if fewer persons are assigned to it for the whole season, instead of everybody being drafted in the beginning and then allowed to turn to his desk after sowing.

2.9. As we have already said, the real target of a crop campaign is the cultivator and not the governmental organisation. The campaign should, therefore, be evaluated in terms of its impact upon him.

2.10. In all the three States the campaign effort was spread unevenly. For example, there was no campaign for gram and barley in Hissar even though these were selected for attention. Again, according to the Rajasthan

plan, areas of low yields were to receive greater attention than others. But this does not seem to have been done; the campaign was very weak in Kota, even though the district is known for its low yield and the low level of its cultural practices. In U.P. the campaign worked well in the block, but not in the non-block area. In the latter the personnel were not equal to the elaborate organizational effort that the campaign required.

2.11. In Rajasthan and Punjab targets of additional production were laid down. But these did not have much significance; at least the farmers and the lower level officials did not appear to have a clear idea of what the targets were. In U.P., on the contrary, the targets were down for different items and some information was available about the extent to which they were reached, though it is not possible to isolate the precise contribution of the campaign.

2.12. The impact of the campaign was, in consequence, felt unevenly by the different parts of each State. In the Punjab it was felt mainly in Ludhiana and that too in the block area; 82% of the cultivators in the latter area attributed the adoption of one or more practices to the campaign. On the other hand, the campaign had practically no effect in Hissar. In Rajasthan it was felt most in Bharatpur block where 53% of the cultivators attributed the adoption of one or more practices to the campaign. On the other hand Kota was practically untouched. In U.P. all the three selected districts felt the impact of the campaign, but it was felt most in the Deoria block where 70% of the respondents ascribed the adoption of some practice or other to the campaign. Other areas in the three States were less affected by it.

2.13. It may not be possible in a campaign to maintain the organisational effort at the same level in different parts of a large State. The quality of the personnel is likely to differ from one area to another and the larger the size of the personnel the more it would be so. A well-organised campaign may have then to decide how much area it can cover efficiently with the task force at its disposal. This would, however, require a conscious choice between two alternative objectives *viz.*, the maximum increase of aggregate output in the State as a whole with the resources available, or the distribution of some possible increase over as large an area as practicable. If the first objective is chosen, the aggregate resources of the campaign should be distributed between different areas according to their relative output potentials. If on the

Table 3.3

Adoption of basal application in three best blocks

Blocks	Big			Medium			Small		
	Adop- tion in previous season*	Adop- tion in current season*	Adop- tion due to campaign	Adop- tion in previous season*	Adop- tion in current season*	Adop- tion due to campaign	Adop- tion in previous season*	Adop- tion in current season*	Adop- tion due to campaign
1. Ludhiana Block, Punjab .	12.5	25.0	18.7	12.5	31.2	18.8	11.1	30.8	19.2
2. Bharatpur Block, Rajasthan	33.3	90.9	63.6	35.5	58.6	41.4	9.1	66.7	66.7
3. Deoria Block, U.P. .	9.1	100.0	90.9	..	67.9	67.9	..	60.0	60.0

*Current season—Rabi, 1958-59 ; and Previous season—Rabi, 1957-58.

other hand, the choice goes to the second alternative, the poorer the yield in an area is, the greater the relative attention it should receive under the campaign. Of course, various degrees of compromise between the two objectives and corresponding adjustments of the campaign can be conceived.

2.14. The campaign reached all categories of cultivators. This is shown below by the data on the adoption of basal application, for example, by the three groups of cultivators in the three blocks of the States where the campaign had the best impact. (Table 3·3)

The increase in 1958-59 in the percentage of respondents who followed the practice was significantly large in each of the three blocks. Besides, a large part of the adoption in the current season was due to the campaign. The big cultivators in U.P. and Rajasthan make a somewhat better showing than the medium and the small. In Punjab (Ludhiana), however, the differences are small; and the medium and the small cultivators did better than the big ones in the current season.

2.15. All the improved agricultural practices registered improvements in the levels of adoption in the current year. But the progress made varied from item to item. This was, in some measure, to be expected; for the scope for further extension through the campaign differed in respect of different practices. Some practices such as the use of improved seed, line sowing, timely sowing and weeding had been adopted extensively by the farmers in the three States prior to the campaign, while other practices such as basal application and top dressing in the three States and dibbler sowing in U.P. had spread little. The progress due to the campaign was higher in the case of practices where the starting levels had been low. The following table shows the position in respect of three typical practices. (Table 3·4)

The proportion of respondents who were influenced by the campaign was higher in the case of basal application and top-dressing, where the old levels were pretty low than in that of the use of improved seed which had been already widely followed.

2.16. The results of the campaign suggest first, that it should be followed by more campaigns but, secondly, the succeeding campaigns should be more selective in respect of the emphasis on different practices. The practices, usually the new and unfamiliar ones should receive relatively greater attention than others.

Table 3.4
Knowledge, adoption and impact of campaign

wheat crop.

State	Improved seed		Basal application				Top dressing		
	% reporting knowledge	% adopting	% adopting because of the campaign	% reporting knowledge	% adopting because of the campaign	% adopting because of the campaign	% reporting knowledge	% adopting	% adopting because of the campaign
1. Punjab	100.0	91.6	10.7	83.3	14.4	8.7	97.3	29.2	20.3
2. Rajasthan	96.9	50.4	7.6	82.0	13.5	8.7	91.5	26.9	17.9
3. U.P.	100.0	81.7	9.0	86.7	38.6	34.3	88.9	34.9	19.7

2.17. Different factors interfered with the extension of different improved practices. In the case of improved seed, inadequate supply was reported to be the important reason by farmers in U.P. and Rajasthan. Lack of finance accounted for the non-adoption of top-dressing in Rajasthan, while the cultivators of Punjab and U.P. felt that the fertilizers were too costly. For most of the practices a variety of other reasons were advanced, for example, 'no knowledge', 'not needed', 'not suitable', 'not interested', 'unfavourable season', 'time not available', 'not convinced', etc. These reasons which, taken together, cover a large proportion of the cases of non-adoption in the three States indicate some deficiency or other in the extension effort and suggest that something more than occasional campaigns is needed to step up agricultural production in the country. In some instances the non-adoption was due to reasons more deep-rooted than could be tackled by short-lived campaigns. The resistance can be overcome only by patient long-term extension efforts supplemented by occasional intensive drives.

2.18. Finally, one would like to apply to the campaign the ultimate test, *viz.*, its effect on output. The following table compares the yield per acre of wheat in the three areas in the States where the campaign had the greatest impact. (Table 3:5)

2.19. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to discover in the above table, the contribution of the campaign to either the yield per acre or the total output of wheat. There is the initial difficulty that all the relevant data, *viz.*, yield per acre, the condition of the season and the impact of the campaign are all merely statements made by the respondents, and not facts objectively measured. Secondly, the tabulated data do not point to simple conclusions. To take the yield per acre first, in Bharatpur alone it increased between the two years but only on farms which were influenced by the campaign. In Ludhiana, it actually went down on the corresponding farms while on the remaining farms, *i.e.*, those which were not influenced by the campaign, it did not change. In Deoria, the yield increased in the first group of farms, but it did so in the second group too. The jigsaw puzzle is partly due to the fact that some farms which had not been influenced by the campaign had, nevertheless, adopted certain cultural practices, as widely as other farms. But it is probably due more to the influence of the season. The rabi season of 1958-59 is reported to have been unfavourable in Ludhiana and Bharatpur blocks, but favourable in Deoria block. These facts may explain, in part, the rise in the yield per acre in Deoria among both the groups of farmers dealt

Table 3.5

Yield of wheat and the extent of adoption of improved practices for cultivators (A) influenced by the campaign and (B) those not influenced by it

Blocks	A. Cultivators influenced by the campaign									
	% of cultivators influenced by the campaign	Yield per acre of wheat (mds)	Per cent of wheat area under							
			Improved seed		Basal application		Top dressing			
			Current (1958-59)	Previous (1957-58)	Current (1958-59)	Previous (1957-58)	Current (1958-59)	Previous (1957-58)	Current (1958-59)	Previous (1957-58)
Ludhiana	82.4	17.73	18.81	100.0	100.0	12.7	6.8	44.9	31.1	
Bharatpur	53.4	15.18	13.50	67.6	32.5	68.4	2.4	1.3	..	
Deoria	70.2	11.28	9.25	92.1	80.9	94.3	..	67.5	47.3	
B. Cultivators not influenced by the campaign										
	% not influenced									
Ludhiana	17.5	13.44	13.34	100.0	100.0	2.8	3.4	18.4	32.8	
Bharatpur	46.6	13.74	18.16	68.2	58.6	50.7	56.8	19.0	12.4	
Deoria	29.7	12.63	10.86	85.1	81.3	16.6	17.0	34.9	37.4	

with in the table, its decline and steadiness among the two respective groups in Ludhiana. To explain the situation in Bharatpur it is necessary to consider the season and the extension of improved practices together. The rabi season of 1958-59 was unfavourable, but among the first group of farmers, i.e., those who were influenced by the campaign there was such a large area-wise extension of improved practices that the yield per acre showed a net increase. Among the other group of farmers, improved practices had been in wider use even in the earlier year, and the yield per acre was accordingly higher. There was no further extension of the practices during the campaign but the weather deteriorated, and the yield per acre dropped.

2.20. An attempt was made to solve this puzzle by introducing some statistical refinements into the analysis. It was noticed on closer observation of the yield levels and the extent of adoption of practices that these show extreme fluctuations among the farmers in each group. The high order of such variance has tended to obscure the effect both of the campaign and of the weather on the yield of wheat in the two years. To reduce this variance as much as possible, an equal number of farmers was selected at random from the two groups, those influenced and those not influenced by the campaign. The results obtained for the farmers in this reduced sample are shown in Table 3.6.

2.21. The reduced sample shows more of a consistent pattern of variations in the level of yield between the two years as well as between the two groups of farmers particularly in the Bharatpur and the Deoria blocks. In both these blocks the yield per acre of wheat registered a perceptible increase among the farmers influenced by the campaign, while the yield reported by those not so influenced tended to remain more or less the same between the two years (the increase or decrease being almost negligible). It is significant in this connection that the farmers influenced by the campaign in both these blocks have on the whole recorded not only a much higher level of adoption of improved practices in 1958-59 than in 1957-58, but also a higher level than those not influenced by the campaign in 1958-59.

2.22. The picture for Ludhiana, however, remains somewhat of a puzzle in spite of a considerable narrowing down of the variations. It may be mentioned here that the differences between the two groups of farmers in Ludhiana in the extent of adoption of improved practices in the current year do not appear very significant. The

Table 3.6

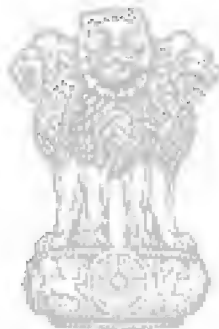
Yield of wheat and extent of adoption of three improved practices among reduced samples of wheat growers

District/Block	Random No.	Average yield per acre. (Mds.)		% of area under					
		Current	Previous	Improved seed		Basal application		Top dressing	
				Current	Previous	Current	Previous	Current	Previous
(a) Influenced by the campaign.									
Ludhiana Block	. 11(3)	16.98	18.56	100.0	100.0	5.4	..	54.1	28.1
Bharatpur Block	. 16(4)	15.77	13.67	92.0	57.0	88.3	..	..	..
Deoria Block	. 14(3)	12.24	10.77	90.3	79.7	96.5	..	77.1	69.2
(b) Not influenced by the campaign									
Ludhiana Block	. 11(3)	16.71	15.66	100.0	100.0	4.4	4.7	26.0	40.2
Bharatpur Block	. 16(4)	13.46	13.79	46.6	37.3	13.6	17.2	..	..
Deoria Block	. 14(3)	8.72	8.30	96.5	87.4	..	..	30.8	35.0

Figures in brackets in Col. 2 indicate the number of villages from which the reduced sample was randomly selected.

variations in the level of yield between the two years as well as the two groups are, therefore, largely independent of the improved practices whether adopted under the influence of the campaign or not.

2.23. It may be added here that an analysis of variance of these data merely shows that the residual variance was most important in relative magnitude in all the blocks. It was only in one block that the variance due to the campaign was almost at the 5% level of significance. In short, the available data do not permit us to conclude firmly, one way or the other, about the effect of the campaign on the yield. The compounding of the influence of the campaign with the effects of the weather and other factors is largely responsible for this indeterminateness of the results. But the details enable us, at least, to say that the variations in yields are related to the differences in the levels of adoption of the improved practices.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES—PANCHAYATS AND COOPERATIVES

1. Introduction

1.1. Since its establishment the P.E.O. has concentrated on the annual evaluation of the C.D. programme. Its studies have been based upon countrywide collection of statistical data and designed to give aggregative pictures of the programme in operation.

1.2. There are lights and shades in the pictures it has drawn, but the shades predominate and the reader is left with the impression of an inadequately coordinated endeavour, governmental rather than popular in character, and sustained more by hope than achievement.

1.3. The P.E.O. decided, for a variety of reasons, to have a change this year. It has always felt the need for case studies, of careful and intensive analysis of limited areas or particular aspects of the programme, which could give deeper insight than broad-based statistical enquiries. The current year happens to be suitable for such studies. In addition to the extensive examination of the programme which the P.E.O. has made in recent years, there was, last year, an overall review by a team of international experts. And next year the P.E.O. hopes to bring out a comprehensive report containing the results of the resurvey of a number of old blocks.

1.4. The current year thus forms a sort of a hiatus which the P.E.O. thought it could usefully fill up with a few case studies. It is with this idea that a small number of panchayats and cooperatives were selected for detailed examination. Panchayats and cooperatives represent the most important institutions on which the success of the new experiment in democratic decentralization depends. Again the choice has been deliberately limited to the successful institutions, the primary purpose of the studies being to find out the causes of their success. The aggregative analysis with which the P.E.O. is usually pre-occupied are based upon data relating to successful and unsuccessful ventures in all aspects of the C.D. programme. But the latter so outnumber the former that the lessons which these may contain do not come out sufficiently in the general story. The case studies that the P.E.O. has

prepared this year, may, it is hoped, do this in some measure. The reader will find the full studies brought out in separate publications; only a summary of the findings is given here.

2. *Panchayats*

2.1. The following tests were used in selecting the successful panchayats:

1. The panchayat must be sufficiently old, so that its progress can be studied over a number of years.
2. It has successfully levied taxes, increased its revenue resources, attended to its municipal functions, and built assets and reserves.
3. The people of the village take active interest in the panchayat, participate at the elections and contribute, in cash or labour, to the construction of community assets.
4. There is at least a measure of democratic leadership in its running.
5. Finally, the circumstances of the panchayat are not so particular that its story has small meaning for other panchayats which work under normal conditions.

2.2. The first test is obvious. The second is necessary to judge the functioning of the panchayat as an administrative body. But a panchayat is not merely a form of administration. It is also the medium through which village people can evolve an integrated community life. An elementary criterion of whether this is happening or not in a village is the degree of interest that the people take in the panchayat. A higher test would be to find out to what extent the people and their leaders put their common interests above the individual or the sectional.

Not all the selected panchayats* satisfy these tests fully; but they do so sufficiently to make them useful illustrations.

2.3. Of the 9 panchayats studied by us, six are 10 to 12 years old, and the other three have existed for 25 years or more. All have had an existence long enough to satisfy

*A list of the panchayats selected for study and the manner of their selection will be found in the introduction portion in the full report published separately.

the first test. Of the nine panchayats two are in Bihar, two in Madhya Pradesh and one each in U.P., Bombay, Andhra, Madras and Mysore.

2.4. Most of the panchayats have good records in respect of municipal functions *e.g.* maintenance and lighting of streets, primary education, sanitation, supply of drinking water, etc. Most of them have added, directly or indirectly, to the assets of the village community in the shape of roads, culverts, drinking water wells, tanks, panchayat ghars, school houses, etc. Some like Khwaja Nangla in U.P. have done much more than others. But in all there is among the people, a measure of appreciation of municipal services, and a fairly strong desire to maintain them at a certain level of efficiency. They have attended to the simple needs of the village and are taking up more ambitious projects. But there are no instances of unfinished work.

2.5. The records of the panchayats are much less satisfactory when we turn to their finances. Generally speaking, they use their powers of taxation scantily; only a few of the taxes which are within their power are actually imposed and the dues from fewer still are collected. Secondly, even the good panchayat, though it may not misuse its powers or funds, shows an inability or unwillingness to maintain its books properly. In particular, it seems reluctant to include voluntary contributions in the statement of income and expenditure. But the responsibility for this state of things is not wholly with the panchayat; the rules and regulations relating to panchayat finances are in part to blame. These appear unduly restrictive to the panchayat and at least some panchas feel that they should have the right to operate the funds freely in the interest of timely execution of village plans.

2.6. In executing works of common benefit, the panchayats lean heavily on grants from the State and voluntary contributions by the people. We have noticed in earlier studies the preference of the rural people for *ad hoc* contributions as against tax payment. Contributions are voluntary, occasional and for specific concrete projects, while taxes have to be paid compulsorily, regularly and for a vague list of services some of which may not be rendered or may not appear important to individual taxpayers. Moreover, the person who donates to the school fund, for example, advertises this charity, but the fellow who pays his tax regularly only discloses his income to others. In the circumstances of our rural society, it may, therefore, be sensible for panchayats to rely upon income

from common property to meet the current expenses of civic administration and on voluntary contributions by the people to meet the investment needs of capital projects. Some panchayats have built income-yielding assets; others are exploiting fairs, and markets to add to their income. Besides, Government grants can be made to match not only with the voluntary contributions of the village people but also the taxes paid by them to the panchayat*.

2.7. In most of the panchayats under study, elections have been uncontested. In one panchayat there were, to start with, more candidates than seats; but the excess number were persuaded to withdraw their candidature. In most others only as many candidates stood for election as there were seats to be filled. This coincidence is usually the outcome of pre-election confabulations among village or caste leaders. In these instances the elections are obviously formal affairs. In one village almost all the panchas of the earlier traditional panchayat were elected to the new statutory body. In another panchayat, on the other hand, the panchas of the traditional panchayat stayed away from the election, "mainly for fear of losing in the contest and suffering loss of prestige in the village". This election and the one following were both contested, but no contestant stood as the candidate of a political party. In a third village voting at the first election was on caste and kinship lines, but at the second election group alignments emerged in support of a progressive village leader on one side and his opponent on the other. But the voting did not divide the people; the representatives of the two groups have worked in harmony since the election.

2.8. These examples illustrate alternative ways of assessing the wishes of the people. Each has its strong and weak points. The traditional technique promotes harmony in the rural society, it does not, at least, disturb it. But it may express the will of a few rather than the consensus of the many, and the more oligarchic the village society is, the more this is likely to happen. Elections, on the other hand, give a chance to the dissentients openly to assert their views against the majority. But the open contest may work up passions, accentuate divisions, destroy harmony and paralyse the panchayat as an instrument for common good.

2.9. It is probably unwise to be dogmatic about either technique. Evidently they fit into different circumstances.

*The present practice of handing over a percentage of land revenue to the panchayat is an illustration of this principle.

Where traditional social values and social processes are still active, the traditional technique may best serve the purpose of assessing the people's wishes. But where these conditions have ceased to exist, it would be difficult to re-introduce them by putting restraints on the modern technique of election. Social harmony is the product of deeper forces. Where it exists, either method will do; where it does not exist, the traditional technique is inapplicable, and the modern, disruptive. In any case, the method of selecting the panchas is a rather minor instrument for promoting social harmony in the village.

2.10. But democracy is much more than the occasional selection of government. For rural democracy to be effective, the people should be continuously interested in the working of the elected body, and the elected body should be alive to its responsibility to the people. In only one or two panchayats the villagers take interest in the day-to-day work of the panchayat. In most others, the show hardly any interest, and this is so even in areas where, according to law, the panchayat has to inform the Gaon Sabha once or twice a year of its achievement and the state of its finances. On the other hand, in almost all the villages the people contribute in cash or labour to projects of common benefit initiated by the panchayat. This state of things is apparently due to ignorance, apathy and may be, the tradition of trust in leaders on the part of the common man in the village.

2.11. On the other hand, most of the selected panchayats conduct their business in a manner which suggests that they are aware of their responsibility to the village community. The meetings are held regularly; they are, generally speaking, well attended and the proceedings are conducted according to form. In some panchayats important issues are put up formally, opposing views presented and decisions arrived at after discussion.

2.12. Finally, the quality of an organisation depends intimately upon its leaders. The position in the panchayats studied by us varies from single uncontested and unchallenged leadership at one end to conflicting leadership at the other. But in the majority of the bodies leadership is multiple, but not conflicting; there are more than one leader, but they have succeeded in working together.

2.13. The pattern of leadership in the panchayats reflects in some cases the socio-economic structure of the village but not in all. Most of the villages have a number

of castes, of which no one is in the majority. The leadership in their panchayats is also multiple. On the other hand, one multicaste village has a single leader whose status is uncontested and unchallenged, while in another village where the majority of the people belong to a single caste there is bitter contest for the position of the leader. The existence of many castes in a village does not, therefore, necessarily imply conflict among the leaders. On the other hand, the fact that the majority of the people in a village belong to a single caste does not guarantee uncontested or harmonious leadership. Evidently in spite of castes and factions a good deal of common life still exists in the village, and there are many issues within the purview of the panchayat whose solution redounds to the benefit of all sections of the community. The fundamental weakness of our rural society and of our panchayats is to be found not so much in the presence of factions or groups, but in the general lack of interest in problems of common welfare among the mass of the villagers.

2.14. In some areas the village panchayat still retains the judicial function; in others the function has been transferred to especially created statutory bodies, Naya Panchayats, to save the judicial process from being influenced by factions in the village. The villagers, however, do not seem to have accepted wholeheartedly or taken kindly to this reform. In most of the villages selected for study, settlement of disputes is still the responsibility of the village leaders; in some the statutory panchayat still adjudicates them *de facto*, though it has no authority to do so *de jure*. In one case the villagers have refused to levy taxes on themselves for fear of their money being used, in part, to finance the judicial panchayat. In another instance, the old respected leaders of the traditional panchayat which had the judicial function stayed away from the new panchayat which is without it because they did not want to be concerned only with "the management of drains and roads".

2.15. The attitude of the villagers on this issue harks back to the traditional association of judicial work with panchayats. The panchas were, in the old days, the guardians of the social, economic and moral order in the village. It was for them to take note of the causes of social disharmony and of threats to traditional values; and they were to remove them by composing differences between individuals and groups, and if necessary, by punishing the guilty and the recalcitrant. In the eyes of the villager, these functions could be performed only by those who were familiar with their customary practices, and had a thorough

understanding of their situation and problems. Apparently, such persons can be found only among the village elders and they cannot share their responsibility with outsiders even where these belong to neighbouring villages. It is this association with judicial work which is in the eyes of the villager the substance of the status of the panch; he cannot think of a panch as a village leader without this function. It is this traditional view which explains why some of the statutory panchayats still show a tendency to settle disputes among the villagers even though they no longer have the power in law.

2.16. It is probably risky to draw conclusions of general applicability from the studies of a few cases of successful panchayats. But a tentative attempt may be made.

2.17. The panchayats studied by us are in widely different parts of India. But they all possess certain features in common, which seem to explain their success. In the first place, most of these panchayat villages are favourably situated in respect of communication and contact with towns. Good roads and frequent bus service have brought the outside world nearer to them. In some instances, the villages are marketing centres or places of pilgrimage. The people have thus plenty of occasions to deal with the urban people. These contacts must have had a stimulating effect on the villagers. Moreover, the development of links with the outside world and of amenities within the village have also induced some of the educated or the more enterprising among the villagers to stay in the village. They can look after their interests in the town, while residing in the village home. Thus, the villages under the selected panchayats are not out-of-the-way communities cut off from the stream of life in the country. In fact, some of them are fully exposed to the winds of change as would appear from the manner of their recent elections.

2.18. Secondly, most of the villagers are relatively prosperous; they have more land under irrigation and grow more commercial crops than in the villages round about them. Quite a few cultivators are well-to-do and a number of villagers are employed in trade and commerce. The relative prosperity of the village has greatly helped the panchayat to raise money, while with higher income the people have developed some appreciation of municipal amenities.

2.19. Thirdly, most of the villages have been lucky in respect of leadership. In quite a few, the creation of the statutory panchayat did not bring about a break with the past; the old leaders put on the new mantles without

fuss; and their earlier experience proved useful in the management of old affairs within the new framework. In others, this has not happened; the old have been displaced by the new, usually younger in age and more progressive in outlook. But the change has taken place without much bitterness. Except in one village, the contest for leadership has not been on party lines. In fact, the success of most panchayats has turned greatly on the ability of the villagers and village leaders to manage this transition from the old to the new situation. It has not been a question merely of a shift from one organisational form to another, from one set of procedures to another or even from informal to formal ways of handling the business of the community. The transition implied and called for a readjustment of values, social relations, etc.

2.20. The panchayat leaders have also shown interest in other organisations inside and outside the village e.g., the cooperative society, block development committees etc. They have, generally speaking, developed good relations with block and district authorities. Indeed, with a heavy dependence upon government grants, the proper management of this relationship would appear to be essential to the success of the leaders and their panchayat. In only one instance, the panchayat has taken little aid from the block authorities to build up its developmental programme.

2.21. The studies do not throw any light on the relation between the panchayat and the cooperative. In most villages they seem to have cordial relations, but they have also little to do with each other. (In one instance the panchayat advanced some money on loan to the cooperative). This situation is due in large part to the fact that few of the panchayats studied by us have really engaged in productive activity. Their developmental work is confined largely to the building up of social overheads.

3. Cooperatives

3.1. The reasons for deciding to make case studies of successful cooperative societies have been explained in the first part of this chapter. It has been pointed out that the primary objective of these studies is to find out the factors responsible for their success. Detailed studies dealing with selected cooperatives will be found in a separate publication. Only a summary of the findings of the studies is given here.

3.2. *Basis of selection.*—In selecting successful cooperative societies for case study we had to use some

tests or criteria of success. The following broad criteria were finally adopted after discussion with knowledgeable persons at various levels*.

- (i) The society has functioned over a sufficiently long period, so that its progress can be studied over the years.
- (ii) It has developed from a credit to a multi-purpose society and provides not only credit but also essential commodities, seeds, fertilizers etc. to cultivators.
- (iii) Its membership has increased over the years, includes all classes and groups of people and covers the majority of the households in the village.
- (iv) Its business and its internal resources have grown progressively over the years.
- (v) It possesses the basic characteristics of the co-operative form of organisation, namely, voluntary association, close contact, social cohesion and a feeling of mutual obligation among the members.

Of the 10 societies initially selected, only 7 have been finally included in the study.

3.3. Nature of the selected cooperatives.—The seven selected societies are located in six States, 2 in the Punjab and one each in U.P., Bombay, Mysore, Madras and Andhra Pradesh. Not all of these societies are fully comparable with one another in respect of either their background or their achievement. But some general idea about them can be derived from the following account.

3.4. Four of the societies were organised prior to 1920 (one as early as 1910), one in the late thirties, one in the middle forties and one in 1957. It may, therefore, be said that five, if not six, of the societies selected are fairly old and have functioned at least for a period of 15 years. Only one society does not satisfy this test, since it had been functioning for three years only at the time of the study. However, this society may be said to have replaced another cooperative that had existed earlier in the village.

*The details of the process of selection are given in the fuller study brought out separately:

3.5. All the selected societies have developed, in the course of time, from credit to multi-purpose cooperatives. Thus they satisfy the second criterion. Five of the societies operate virtually only in the villages of their location. One has also developed into a large-sized society.

3.6. As regards the extent of coverage of their membership, we had to relax the criterion we had chosen. All the societies include among their members persons from most of the rural classes. But the proportion of all families in the villages covered by them varies widely. One society covers 90% of the households, two between 50% and 66%, two others about 40% and the remaining two about 30%. Thus the third test is met by some of the selected societies rather inadequately. It was not, however, possible to avoid this situation. The position of the different societies could be known only after selection and some enquiry. However, this wide spectrum gives us a large scope for comparison.

3.7. About the progressive growth in the volume of their business and internal resources, the individual societies have their own stories to tell. But this criterion is more or less satisfied by all seven of them. All have increased their loans and the range of their business.

3.8. Finally, as we shall see later, the selected societies show the basic characteristics of the cooperative type of organisation, in varying degrees.

3.9. *Factors for success.*—A comparison of the performance of the different societies points to a number of likely causes of their success. These may be conveniently discussed under the following heads:

- (a) Location;
- (b) Social environment;
- (c) Economic resources; and
- (d) Business operations.

3.10. All the societies are favourably located. All except one are situated in villages which are near towns and enjoy good communication facilities, e.g. pucca roads, frequent bus service and in some instances, railway service too. Besides, some of them operate in districts and areas where there is a vigorous cooperative movement and/or a helpful central financing agency.

3.11. These factors are not immediately reproducible in the country at large. They do, however, suggest how the general development of an area helps individual cooperative societies to succeed. Or to put it differently, the cooperative venture has a better chance of success if it forms part of the overall plan of development of the areas where the societies are located.

3.12. The social environment in which the seven societies are working do not show much uniformity. One society functions in a village in which a single caste dominates and another in a village where one caste has a bare majority of the population. But the remaining societies function in multi-caste villages.

3.13. The membership of most of the societies reflects only broadly the caste and occupational composition of the villages they serve. In one village, however, the largest caste group which is also the most prosperous is less represented in the society than other, smaller and economically less advanced groups. In another the members of one of the major groups, the Harijans, are mostly outside the society. Thus whether the village, where the cooperative society is located, has many castes or is dominated by one caste seems to have had no discernible relationship to its success. The seven selected societies have succeeded in widely different social milieu.

3.14. More important than the existence or the non-existence of caste and other social groups is the manner in which they act when they become members of an institution like the cooperative society with a specific functional role. Is their conduct governed by the fact that they are members of a special interest group, or do they allow other allegiances to influence it? The question is important for there are probably few societies whose members cannot be further sub-divided into smaller groups. Of our seven societies, one is dominated by a group based upon loyalty to a political party and not to a caste or castes. It is alleged that party alignment of the members is coming in the way of further increase of the society's membership and business; more than 50% of the households in the village are outside it. The work of another society is hampered by a schism within the major caste which controls or, until recently, controlled the society. The schism is, however, recent and within the same caste. Fortunately too, the society has had a fairly long period of development under undivided leadership, and the wound, it is reported, is likely to heal up. There are again, two

major factions in the village of a third society. But the factions are not based upon caste; in fact, each faction includes persons from almost every caste. Here also group rivalry creates difficulty in the working of the cooperative. Three other societies are situated in multicaste villages, but the villages and the societies are free from factions. The work of only one society suffers in some measure from the rivalry of factions based on caste. Thus though castes can easily become the basis of factions, factions can have other bases too, and it is factions, whatever their basis, rather than social groupings which are the real blocks in the path of progress.

3.15. Some of the societies have succeeded in spite of the presence of factions in their villages. This is due mainly to the factor of leadership. The selected societies have been fortunate in this respect. Their presidents, vice presidents and treasurers have been or are persons who are known to the villagers for their honesty and public service. It is interesting to note that in two societies members who belong to rival groups in the village acknowledge a single leader, the president, within the society.

3.16. Where contests take place or rather conflicts arise, their source is usually traceable to elections to the legislature, the municipality and the panchayat. The virus of party or faction politics once injected into the village society spreads to the cooperative society. But in a number of cases, good leadership has checked the poison from weakening the society. In these instances the leadership is not only honest, but also capable and enterprising. Briefly the societies owe their success greatly to the untiring effort and devotion of a few leaders.

3.17. But while the societies have expanded under competent leaders, their growth has not in all cases synchronised with a comparable development of interest and sense of responsibility among the members. In fact, there seems to be, in some instances an inverse relationship between leadership and the member's interest; the stronger the leadership, the weaker is the sense of responsibility among the members. In some successful societies, the members of the Executive Committee do no more than sign on the dotted lines, and in one resolutions are drafted by the Secretary, circulated to the members and signed by them without previous discussion.

3.18. This sort of situation has, of course, been made possible by the generally low level of education of the

members and their weak economic position. But excessive dependence on single leaders carries its own dangers as can be seen in the history of the selected societies. In some instances, the presidents have become too powerful and even tended to abuse their powers. Again the leaders make themselves so indispensable to the society that their substitutes or successors are not built up or even thought of. It is significant that in five out of the seven societies there has been very little change in the composition of the executive for quite some years. In the light of these facts, periodic changes in the leadership of the societies would seem to be highly desirable.

3.19. The selected societies owe their success in part to the relative prosperity of the villages and the areas where they are situated. All but one are located in large villages with populations exceeding 5,000. Again, most of them have been enjoying fairly extensive irrigation facilities which have helped in bringing considerable areas under cash crops. Local farming too has shown steady growth; the output and sale of crops have increased, and the cultivators spend more cash on fertilisers, seeds, etc. Only one society is located in a village in which a non-agricultural pursuit *viz.* weaving is significant. But this industry has actually helped the villagers, especially agricultural labourers, to improve their position. A large number of them have taken to weaving and hand spinning.

3.20. This growing prosperity of the villages where the societies are located have helped the latter in several ways. The economic development has been accompanied by an extension of the exchange economy and an increasing demand for cash and credit. There has also been a simultaneous increase in the scope for productive use of loans as well as in the capacity of the borrowers to make timely repayments. In fact, some of the societies have used the opportunities created by the general development of the local economy to expand the range of their functions and take up other activities like the provision of agricultural supplies.

3.21. The ultimate test of the success of a cooperative society in particular as a commercial enterprise is to be found in the growth of its business and the soundness of its finances. The selected societies stand this test well. They have all increased their assets, owned and other resources, loans and deposits. But in respect of each of these items they show wide variations. For example, the share capital per member varies from Rs. 119 to

Rs. 157·8. It exceeds Rs. 60 in only four societies. Again, the deposit per member ranges from Rs. 0·7 to Rs. 158·2. It is below Rs. 50 in five societies. Total loans disbursed by them in 1958-59 range from Rs. 38,000 to Rs. 2,13,000. Again of the seven societies, only three have borrowed from Central Banks, while the other two have depended mainly on their own resources.

3.22. There is also some difference in the range of functions undertaken by the different societies. Of course, all of them are engaged in distributing loans which is their primary function. But most of them have also taken up other activities e.g., distribution of consumer and agricultural goods, simple processing operations etc. But three had to drop these activities and return to loan distribution as their only function. Even the better co-operatives do not seem to have made a success of their non-loan activities, and while a growing society naturally tends to spread out into other lines of business, this does not seem to have strengthened the society's position. Our finding thus lends support to the fear expressed by the Working Group on Cooperative Policy (1958-59) that "activities which may involve trading risks, as in the distribution of consumer goods or in the processing of agricultural produce will need separate organisations appropriate to the scale of operations to be undertaken, requirements of capital etc."

3.23. In their credit business again, most of the societies have confined themselves to advancing short term loans. Two societies also advance medium term loans. Some more which had been doing so have given it up. Loans are, of course, given for purposes stated by the borrower but in no case they are linked to the production programme. Two societies base the advance on the acreage under cultivation of the borrower. In some of the cooperatives in the South, the introduction of jewel loans and chit funds has greatly extended the short term loan business of the societies. These loans are specially helpful to the poorer classes, e.g. agricultural labourers, artisans, etc.

3.24. The factor finally responsible for the success of the societies has been efficient management. The societies have tried to meet the loan requirements of their members promptly. In this respect some societies have competed successfully with the money-lender. One society has tailored its loans to the situation of the borrower; the secretary can give 'hand loans' up to Rs. 30/-

recoverable in five monthly instalments against the personal security of the borrowing member and without reference to the management committee. In one or two instances commission agents or influential persons have tried to use the resources of the society for personal benefit; but they have been checked by the vigilance and prompt action of the managing committee.

A society's enterprise is sometimes seen in the devices it uses to build up its resources. Two societies make a deduction from every loan given to a member as contribution to his share capital or thrift deposit. Another society offers a fairly high rate of interest to attract the hoarded savings of the villagers.

3.25. Two factors seem to have played a directly important role in building up the efficiency of most of these societies, first, the service of a trained or experienced secretary and secondly, the conduct of the members of the managing committee in repaying loans taken by them. The secretaries of some of the societies have been active especially in inducing people to deposit their savings with them. Again, the members of the managing committee have either not borrowed heavily from the society and/or paid back the loans in time. Indeed, almost no society has overdues against members of its managing committee. This fact has toned up their administration, strengthened their position in the eyes of the public and in some instances brought in depositors from the non-members.

3.26. We have to end this analysis on a note of caution. The societies studied in the report were recommended as among the best in different regions and districts. This may be so. But as our study shows, they have quite a number of shortcomings. Some of them cover small proportions of the village households. Not one of them has linked its loan to the production programmes of the borrowers. Nor are the loan operations tied to the marketing of the produce of the borrower. In some cases there has been over-lapping of activity in this respect between the credit and the marketing societies. No society has developed a machinery for supervising the utilization of loans. Generally speaking, they have not made a success of their non-credit activities. Nevertheless, the history and working of these societies which are, if not the best societies, at any rate 'better than the average' societies—have some useful lessons for others. They have achieved commendable, though limited success in circumstances which are typical in different parts of the country.

CHAPTER V

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

1. Introduction

1.1. The P.E.O. had carried out in 1954 a Bench-Mark Survey (BMS) of basic social and economic conditions in 20 development blocks in different parts of the country. Recently, it decided to repeat the survey in the same blocks as well as to extend it to another 35 blocks with a view, first, to find out the changes that may have taken place in the old blocks, and secondly, to widen the geographic coverage of the enquiry in preparation for the next survey. The field investigation was started last year, but will not be over till the middle of the current year. The final report will not be ready till the beginning of the next. Meanwhile, enough data have flowed into the Organisation to permit the preparation of interim reports on one or two aspects of the rural economy. The P.E.O. has chosen to prepare a note on rural employment.

1.2. The purpose of the report is to throw some light on the state of employment (or unemployment) in some of the blocks which have had the benefit of the C.D. programme for a number of years. Data have been collected and analysed to indicate the extent and seasonal fluctuation of visible unemployment among different occupational classes in the countryside, the volume and seasonal variation of disguised unemployment on agricultural farms and the change in the proportion of workers offering for employment on hire i.e. in the open market for labour.

1.3. The final report will cover a larger number of blocks, deal with various other aspects of rural life, besides employment and unemployment and make an attempt to assess the changes that may have taken place in those aspects between 1954-55 and 1959-60. The present study is concerned with only one issue viz., employment in the older blocks. In order to find out the seasonal variation in employment, the agricultural year has been divided into four periods, roughly corresponding with the busy and the slack phases of farming activity in the areas where the selected blocks are located. The present report is based on data relating to the first two periods,

corresponding roughly with May-June and mid-September-mid-October of 1959. Finally, the original intention was to cover all the 20 old blocks, where the first Bench-Mark Survey had been carried out. But, chiefly for administrative reasons, adequate information could not be collected in 7 blocks which had therefore to be left out.

1.4. In all these blocks, the repeat survey is being conducted in those villages where the first BMS was done. At that time, a block was divided, generally speaking, into six geographical strata and one village was selected at random from each stratum with probability proportional to its population in 1951. For these sample villages, a fresh list of households was prepared in 1959 on the basis of a house to house enquiry, and used as the frame for the selection of sample households. However, in one block, Chalakudy, Kerala where villages are very large, the frame was prepared not for the complete sample village but for a ward chosen at random. Again, in two villages in another block viz., Erode, Madras, where the situation was similar, a random sample of 200 households from the national citizens' register was used as the frame for the selection of households.

1.5. The households have been classified according to the occupation of the head as follows:—

1. Cultivators (other than cultivator-cum-agricultural labourers and cultivator-cum-artisans), for brevity, referred to hereafter as 'pure cultivators'.
2. Cultivator-cum-agricultural labourers;
3. Cultivator-cum-artisans;
4. Agricultural labourers;
5. Artisans;
6. Others.

(The head of the household was defined, as in the earlier BMS, as the person on whom fell the chief responsibility for maintaining the household).

The cultivators have been sub-divided into three groups—the pure cultivators, the cultivators-cum-labourers, the cultivators-cum-artisans, with a view to find out what difference, if any, reliance upon a subsidiary occupation makes to the employment available to persons who are, in the main, farmers. The enquiry covers in all 86 villages and 3407 households. Forty households have been selected in each sample village; these were distributed among the above groups in proportion to their number in the village. The households of a particular sample village

falling in the frame of the first occupational group i.e. the pure cultivators were arranged in the descending order according to the size of cultivated holding and then divided into five sections of equal number. From each section an equal number of households was selected at random to give the total number of sample households for the groups as determined earlier. This has made it possible to disperse the sample well over different size of holding groups.

1.6. The data for all the 3407 households have not been analysed for this report. Only such returns have been analysed as covered both a 'busy' and a 'slack' season during the enquiry. The following table gives the number of villages, households and cultivator households selected and analysed. It may be noted that the analysis is based on returns obtained from the sample in 13 blocks spread over 10 States and one Union Territory. (Table 5.1)

2. Open Unemployment

2.1. For the purpose of our study we have taken as working members all members of a household who are, according to the head, usually available for work. At each round of the enquiry they were asked the number of days they had worked during the preceding 15 days as well as the number of days on which they could not work on account of bad weather, sickness or other causes. The relevant information was collected in man-days and not man-hours, as the field staff was inadequate for the detailed and continuous enquiry which the recording of time worked in man-hours calls for. An attempt was also made to find out the number of days spent on farm and other activities. This was supplemented by an enquiry into man-days of work on each farm done by hired labourers. With a view to study the change in the proportion of workers offering their labour in the open market between the first B.M.S. and the present enquiry, all adult members of the selected households were asked, at the first round, if they had offered to work for wages any time during the preceding 12 months.

2.2. The data for the 'busy' and the 'slack' fortnights are tabulated separately. In the case of a person who is normally in the labour force, the days lost through sickness, bad weather etc. are first deducted from the total of 15 days. The residue gives the days that are available for gainful work, and this reduced by the number of days actually worked gives a measure of visible unemployment. Data are presented separately for men, women and children (i.e. persons below 15), and finally for all persons, using the equivalence scale of one woman-day

Table 5.1
The number of villages and households selected and tabulated

Block	Villages							Households						
	Selected		Tabulated		Selected		Tabulated		Selected		Tabulated		Selected	
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Banswada, Andhra	6	241	153	200	130			
2. Lakhimpur, Assam	5	201	76	132	54			
3. Manavadar, Bombay	6	240	188	140	112			
4. Morsi, Bombay	6	242	229	155	150			
5. Karvir, Bombay	6	243	77	225	64			
6. Chalakudy, Kerala	6	240	210	167	170			
7. Ashta, M. Pradesh	9	361	312	244	200			
8. Erode, Madras	6	247	206	132	113			
9. Mandya, Mysore	6	245	234	218	198			
10. Bhadson, Punjab	8	319	178	156	86			
11. Ladpura, Rajasthan	6	215	203	143	137			
12. Bhathat, U. P.	6	242	237	227	223			
13. Pounta, H. Pradesh	10	371	334	253	223			
TOTAL	86	3407	2637	2392	1860			

equal to 0.8 man-day and one child-day equal to 0.6 man-day. They are also tabulated separately for different occupational groups and sub-groups. Further, the division of man-days worked between farm and non-farm operations has been analysed and the range of seasonal fluctuation in employment brought out.

2.3. The 'busy' and 'slack' fortnights have been defined by reference to the state of agriculture in the selected blocks. The visits of investigators to individual villages and households were organised accordingly. To the extent the visits could not be properly timed, the data collected did not fit in with the pattern of analysis. They had, in consequence, to be rejected. In the majority of instances, the busy or the slack season in the block and the individual households coincided. But in a few cases this did not happen because of vagaries of weather or the special circumstances which affected individual farms.

2.4. The following table sets out the basic information on the employment of the three broad groups of workers, viz., cultivators, artisans and labourers in the two seasons, (Table 5.2)

The groups lose about 3% to 6% of the available time because of sickness and another 1% to 3% on account of weather, i.e. in the aggregate 5% to 8% are lost for reasons unconnected with one employment situation. Of the 92 to 94 days out of every 100 days available for gainful work, the cultivators find employment for 69 days in the busy and 58 days in the slack season. The corresponding man-days for artisans and labourers are 66 and 59, and 65 and 52 respectively. In the busy season the agricultural labourer is slightly less employed than cultivators or artisans; but in the slack they suffer from more unemployment than others. The differences are, however, not large. Taking the busy and the slack fortnights together, cultivators and artisans are unemployed for 30% of the total man-days and agricultural labourers for 35%. These figures suggest that there is perennial unemployment equivalent to 24 man-days for cultivators, 26 for artisans and 28 for agricultural labourers. To this the onset of the slack season adds another 50% for the first and the third groups and 30% for the second. Chronic or perennial unemployment is thus twice as large in magnitude as the extra seasonal unemployment among cultivators and agricultural labourers and three times or so among artisans.

2.5. This study was not framed directly to throw up solutions of the problem of rural unemployment. But it sheds some light on the feasibility of some solutions which are currently discussed. According to our data, unemployment is as prevalent among artisans as cultivators, and

Table 5.2

Time disposition of cultivators, artisans and labourers

Details	Busy						Slack	
	Cultiva- tor	Artisan	Labourer	Cultiva- tor	Artisan	Labourer		
I	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1. Total man days in the period . . .	66393	3102	13107	66393	3102	13107		141
2. Percentage of days sick . . .	4	6	5	3	6	4		
3. Percentage of days of bad weather . . .	3	2	2	2	1	1		
4. Percentage of days available for gainful work . . .	93	92	93	94	93	94		
5. Percentage of days worked . . .	69	66	65	58	59	52		
6. Percentage of days not worked for reasons other than (2) and (3) ; (i.e., days lost) . . .	24	26	28	36	34	42		

only slightly more among labourers. The rural unemployment situation cannot, therefore, be eased by the movement of persons from farms to crafts; in fact during the past several decades, the movement has been in the opposite direction. Secondly, since the artisans constitute only about 2% of the total population rural arts and crafts will have to expand greatly to absorb even a fraction of the unemployed among cultivators and agricultural labourers.

2.6. Since cultivators form easily the largest category of workers, we have analysed their employment situation rather more in detail. The following table states the time disposition during the busy and the slack seasons of the last year, of the three sub-groups into which we divided them earlier. (Table 5·3)

We have already dealt with the employment of the group as a whole. The separate data for the three sub-groups do not reveal anything special. The situation of the cultivator-cum-artisan approximates to that of the pure artisans. The cultivator-cum-labourer is, however, better employed than the pure labourer in both the busy and the slack seasons. The partial reliance by some cultivators on crafts and the labour market does not improve their position, though, their position could, conceivably, be worse but for the secondary source of employment. This more or less, reinforces the inferences we drew at the end of the last paragraph. There is not much hope for the cultivator to improve his prospects of employment by taking to rural crafts as part-time or full-time jobs.

2.7. The preceding table gives the combined figures for males, females and children using the equivalence scales already mentioned. In the following table the data for the three groups are given separately, but only for the most important category, the pure cultivators. (Table 5·4)

Unemployment, both perennial and seasonal, is more prevalent among women than men, and young persons below 15 seem to suffer less than women. While 17% of the man-days represented by the adult male workers is lost in the busy season and 26% in the slack, the corresponding percentages for adult women workers are 44% and 62 respectively.* In spite of large differences in the

*It would not however, be correct to conclude that the woman who belongs to the cultivating household and is also in the labour force is unemployed for periods that are two to three times as long as the adult male worker. Even though she may be engaged in farm work, she may not be willing to put in or be available for farm work for as many days in the fortnight as the male worker. In rural societies where women do a lot of unpaid but necessary household work, a big deduction has to be made from their total time on this account.

Table 5.3

Time disposition of the three sub-groups of cultivators

Details	Pure cultivator		Cultivator cum-labourer		Cultivator cum-artisan		All cultivators	
	Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Total man days in the period	45540	45540	17145	17145	3708	3708	66393	66393
2. % of days sick	3	3	4	5	4	5	4	3
3. % of days of bad weather	3	2	4	2	1	5	3	2
4. % of days available for gainful work	94	95	92	92	95	90	93	94
5. % of days worked	69	59	68	54	69	56	69	58
6. % of days lost	25	36	24	38	26	34	24	36

Table 5.4

Time disposition of men, women and children of the pure cultivator's households

Details	Men			Women			Children			Overall	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
		Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack	Busy	Slack		
1. Total days in the period	.	32970	32970	14295	14295	1890	1890	45540	45540		
2. % days sick	.	3	3	3	2	..	..	3	3		
3. % days of bad weather	.	4	3	2	1	2	1	3	2		
4. % days available	.	93	94	95	97	98	99	94	95		
5. % days worked	.	76	68	51	34	67	55	69	59		
6. % days lost	.	17	26	44	63	31	44	25	36		

Table 5.5
Percent age of man-days worked on farm, on own farm and devoted to non-farm work by men, women and children of pure cultivators

Details	Busy					Slack		
	All	Men	Women	Children	All	Men	Women	Children
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Total man-days worked . . .	31589	25035	7245	1264	26986	22485	4854	1030
2. Percentage worked on farm . . .	84	85	83	68	80	80	77	71
3. Percentage worked on own farm . . .	76	77	75	38	72	74	69	36
4. Percentage devoted to non-farm work . . .	16	15	17	32	20	20	23	29

levels of their employment, the seasonal variations for the three sub-groups of workers conform to the same pattern.

2.8. Not all the working time of the worker in the cultivator's family is given to farm work; some of it is spent on other than farm work and some on work on other's farms. The man-days worked by the pure cultivators have been accordingly broken down, for both the busy and the slack seasons. The data are given in Table 5.5.

The pure cultivator is engaged in farm-work for most of his working days. This is true of all the three subdivisions, though children spend somewhat less time on farm operations. Again, work on one's own farm accounts for about 90% of the days devoted to farm work or to put it differently, about 10% of the total days spent on farm work go to work on farms of other persons either by way of exchange or on hire. As one would expect, slightly more time is devoted to non-farm work by the 'pure cultivators' in the slack period. But on the whole, given the type of farming in the country, there is small scope for the cultivator to employ his time on non-farm activities.

2.9. The statements made in the preceding paragraph are true also of the cultivator-cum-labourer. But when we turn to the cultivator-cum-artisan, we notice a big shift in the division of his working time between farm and non-farm work. This is shown in the following table:—

Table 5.6

Percentage distribution of days worked on farm and non-farm for the three sub-groups of cultivators

Sub-groups of cultivators	Busy		Slack	
	Percentage of days worked on		Percentage of days worked on	
	Farm	Non-Farm	Farm	Non-farm
1	2	3	4	5
Pure Cultivator . . .	84	16	80	20
Cultivator-cum-labourer .	89	11	88	12
Cultivator-cum-artisan . .	56	44	43	57

Indeed the average number of this group spends a little more than half his time on non-farm work and relies much more on this work, especially, in the slack season than the pure cultivator or the cultivator-cum-labourer.

2.10. We have, up to now, discussed the extent and the seasonal variation of employment and unemployment of whole groups or sub-groups of workers in the rural area. Obviously, all members of a group or sub-group are not equally fortunate; some are less fully employed than others. In the following table an attempt is made to distribute the total number of workers in the sample according to the degree and continuity of their employment. This is done only for the largest group, *viz.* the pure cultivators.

Table 5.7

Percentage distribution of workers of pure cultivator group by the degree and continuity of employment

Category	Percent of no. of per- sons
1	2
1. Those who worked at least one day in each fortnight	73.8
2. Those who worked at least one day only in the busy fortnight	15.7
3. Those who worked at least one day only in the slack fortnight	6.7
4. Those who did not work at all	3.8

Seventy-four per cent of the workers found some work in both the periods, 16% in the busy fortnight only, and 7% in the slack only. About 4% were unemployed in both the seasons. To put it differently, four per cent of the workers were unemployed in both the seasons, about 22% were employed during one season only and about 74% got some work in both seasons. However, in the above table employment is measured on the basis of single day's work in a fortnight, which, of course, gives a very rough index.

2.11. The following table presents the data in a different manner to bring out the distribution of employment much more effectively. The pure cultivators are considered first.

Table 5.8

Percentage distribution of workers of pure cultivator group by number of days worked

No. of days worked	Percentage of wor- kers.	
	Busy	Slack
0.	10.5	19.1
1-5.	8.5	12.1
6-10	24.4	26.0
11-15	56.6	42.3

About one-tenth of the workers have no work at all even in the busy season. Since, as we have seen before, 25% of total man-days of all workers in the group are lost during the busy season, the remaining 14.5% of man-days must be shared by the other 90% of workers. About one in twelve workers get work from 1 to 5 days or say, 3 days on the average in the busy fortnight, one in four is employed half the fortnight and only one out of two are employed all through the fortnight. The picture is worse in the slack season. Nearly one-fifth of the workers are without any work and one in eight gets work on three days in the fortnight and finally, not even half the workers are more or less continuously employed.

2.12. The situation of the pure cultivators may now be compared with that of other categories and sub-categories. The relevant information is given on the following page- (Table 5.9).

In the busy season, labourers and artisans are, as a class, less fully employed than cultivators, pure or mixed. In the slack season, again, agricultural labourers are worse off than pure cultivators but the artisans are somewhat better off. The opportunity for employment or the chance of being unemployed varies more widely for agricultural labourers than for other workers between the busy and the slack seasons. Since agricultural labourers are less fully employed than others in the busy season, this implies that unemployment tends to be more concentrated among them in the slack season.

3. *Disguised Unemployment*


3.1. In addition to open unemployment which we have discussed so far, there is a good deal of 'disguised unemployment' in the country-side. Now, this phrase has been interpreted in so many ways since its coinage by Joan Robinson that anyone who employs it must state his own definition. In this report, it is used to indicate the condition of persons in the labour force who *seem to be employed during a period of time, but are not really so, at least not all the time*. Let us suppose that a farm of X acres is cultivated by Y workers for a period of Z days. Let us also assume that given the technique and the standard of cultivation, the farm can be cultivated by $Y-K$ workers, the total work required being equivalent to $(Y-K)Z$ man-days. But since all the Y workers are employed on it, some or all of them must be partially occupied. There is disguised unemployment equal to ZK

Table 5.9
Percentage distribution of workers of the five occupational groups by number of days worked

No. of days worked	% of all workers in each category										
	Busy					Slack					
	Pure cultivator	Cultivator-cum-labourer	Cultivator-cum-Artisan	Labourer	Artisan	Pure cultivator	Cultivator-cum-labourer	Cultivator-cum-Artisan	Labourer	Artisan	
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
0	10.5	11.0	11.4	12.9	11.3	19.5	23.2	20.5	24.3	16.8	
1-5	8.5	10.4	10.6	12.2	8.2	12.1	13.9	13.3	15.8	12.7	
6-10	24.4	24.0	20.8	25.8	30.9	26.0	24.6	25.0	27.8	27.7	
11-15	56.6	54.5	57.2	49.0	49.5	42.3	38.3	41.3	32.1	42.7	

man-days among the workers on the farm during the period stated.

3.2. The numerical example indicates the assumptions on which our concept of disguised unemployment is based. First, we assume the technique and standard of cultivation to be given. With a less labour-intensive technique or more efficient workers, the number of man-days of work required would be less and the amount of disguised unemployment would be greater. With more labour-intensive methods, and less efficient workers, the existing disguised unemployment would be reduced or even wiped out. Finally, we rule out changes in the organisation of farms through consolidation, conversion into comparatives or large mechanised units. Briefly, our quaesitum is disguised unemployment in the existing conditions of the farm economy.



3.3. The crucial thing is to find out the amount of work—man-days—a farm requires and to compare it with the amount of work—man-day—ostensibly put in by the persons working on the farm. Both these quantities, and hence the amount of disguised unemployment are influenced by a large variety of factors. It is not possible to deal with them all in a short study. We have, therefore, taken note of some only which we consider rather more important. First, soil and weather conditions differ from block to block. Farms in each block have, therefore, to be treated separately. Secondly, the amount of work required on a farm is likely to be seriously influenced by its cropping pattern, and the proportion of the area which is irrigated. Finally, the number of workers in the farmer's family relatively to the size of his holding has a direct bearing on the volume of disguised unemployment on it. Where the holdings are not large and the working members of the farmer's household cannot get, or do not want, jobs outside the family farm, they will all tend to work on it, even though there is not enough work for all. This would give rise to disguised unemployment.

3.4. The characteristics of farms we have chosen are all broad. They have to be split into sub-characteristics to enable us to get a measure of their influence on employment and disguised unemployment. The following sub-divisions have been made with this end in view:—

Table 5.10

Specifications of different groups under 'cropping pattern', 'irrigation' and 'Number of family adults per acre of cultivated land'

Cropping pattern	Irrigation	No. of family adults per acre of cultivated land
1. More than 50% of cultivated area under paddy and wheat.	1. Unirrigated.	1. Below .5
2. More than 50% of cultivated area under sugarcane.	2. Irrigated area upto 33%	2. .5—1.5
3. More than 50% of cultivated area under other food crops	3. Irrigated area 33—66%	3. 1.5 and above.
4. More than 50% of cultivated area under cash crops.	4. Irrigated area above 66%	
5. Others		

There are 60 ways in all in which the different sub-characteristics can be combined. Each combination gives us a sub-group or cell. In order to have enough units in each cell, the farms belonging to the three categories of cultivators have been lumped together. The farms that fall into these different cells require different quantities of work and will have different degrees of disguised unemployment. The farms in the 13 blocks under study, however, fill up only 45 of the 60 cells. Disguised unemployment in the farms in a cell is calculated by comparing the number of man-days of labour ostensibly put in on them with the number required. For this latter purpose, the standard or norm adopted is the number of man-days actually employed by the farms in top quartile in each cell, all farms being arranged in the ascending order of man-days per acre. The implicit assumption is that the farms in the top quartile in each cell use their workers "fully" and do not have disguised unemployment among them.

3.5. Out of the total of 1860 sample farms, 191 had to be excluded in the busy fortnight and 263 in the slack; no work was reported on these farms in the fortnights under enquiry. Of the farms listed, man-days per acre were calculated for the top quartile and the aggregate man-days required were estimated taking into account the total area of the cell. Deducting these from man-days actually recorded on the farms, we get a measure of disguised unemployment.

3.6. The measure of disguised unemployment we have adopted is necessarily rough and somewhat arbitrary. Even within a cell, the conditions of different farms may differ, and even the best farm may have disguised unemployment. This is true especially in respect of soil, which may vary widely from farm to farm within the same block, and require different quantities of work for cultivation. Moreover, the technique of measurement can be applied only to those cells which contained enough units. Sixty-seven sample farms had to be rejected because this condition was not fulfilled. Again, the number of blocks and families in the sample are not fully adequate to detailed analysis of seasonal fluctuations of employment and disguised unemployment.

3.7. The analysis that follows should be considered subject to these limitations. The table below shows disguised unemployment as percentage of total man-days ostensibly spent on the farms, in individual blocks as well as in all the blocks taken together:—

Table 5.11
Extent of disguised unemployment

Block	Percentage of days of disguised unemployment to total man-days spent ostensibly on the farm	
	Busy	Slack
I	2	3
Banswada	49.1	48.5
Lakhipur	21.3	43.9
Manavadar	43.0	55.4
Morsi	70.7	52.4
Karvir	49.3	45.1
Chalakudy	33.3	45.0
Ashta	40.0	50.3
Erode	39.3	51.6
Mandya	55.8	50.0
Bhadson	42.6	41.1
Ladpura	46.3	56.9
Bhathat	42.0	55.2
Pounta	44.7	50.3
All Blocks	47.2	50.7

Judged by the standard adopted, half the man-days ostensibly spent on the farms can be considered unwanted. That is to say, if other farms in each cell could emulate the top quartile, about half the man-days of work now put in can be dispensed with and made available for other purposes. The degree of disguised unemployment does not vary much between the two seasons, the busy and the slack. This is, in part, due to the levelling effect of the block to block variations. In 5 out of 13 blocks the percentage of disguised unemployment is higher in the busy than the slack season, in eight others, it is the other way about. In six of these the difference is significant. Probably, this comparative stability of disguised unemployment between the two seasons is due to some portion of it appearing as open unemployment in the slack season.

4. *Persons offering for employment*

4.1. We have upto now dealt with employment of all categories of persons who make up the working population viz., those who work on their own or other farms but not for hire, those who work on crafts and others. Persons offering themselves for employment on wages were also enumerated. A separate analysis of the data of the present enquiry relative to the class of persons offering for wage employment is necessary for a comparison of the state of the hired labour market in the rural area to-day with what it was five years back.

4.2. In a rural economy where pressure on land is heavy and increasing, one would expect the proportion of persons offering for employment on hire to rise over time. The Bench-Mark Survey of 1954 had noted such persons in the blocks selected for study. But this survey included persons in all ages who had offered to work on hire. We decided in the present enquiry to limit this category only to persons in ages 15 and above with a view to conform to the general practice. Obviously, this difference in definition makes it difficult to compare the new data with the old. But, fortunately, the earlier enquiry gives the age distribution of persons so that those below 15 can be deducted from the aggregate to yield data comparable with the current data. The two sets of data are compared in the following table:—

	All	Male	Female
BMS	34·3	45·3	22·8
REPEAT	41·1	52·8	28·7

The percentage of adult males and females taken together offering for hire has gone up from 34% to 41%. The rise is more or less of the same order for both the sexes, but the proportions of women who offer for employment are

Table 5.12
Percentage of persons offering for employment in four occupational groups

Occupation	All			Male			Female		
	BMS	Repeat	BMS	Repeat	BMS	Repeat	BMS	Repeat	BMS
I	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Mainly cultivating owners
Non-cultivating owners
Mainly cultivating tenants
Artisans

much lower. Broadly speaking, the rising percentage indicate the increasingly limited opportunity for work on one's own farm or craft of the rural people*.

4.3 Table No. 5.12 classifies the data according to the occupations of those who offered for employment.

In this table, it has not been possible to isolate the data for persons aged 15 and above of the old enquiry from the aggregate in the four groups. The old data are not, therefore, fully comparable with the new. However, this lack of comparability is not of a serious or even significant magnitude. The classification of workers is based on the occupation of the individual concerned and not on that of the head of the household he belongs to. It is not very likely that many persons below 15 years in age will be found in the occupations noted in the table.

4.4. The proportion of cultivating owners who offer for employment on hire is less than those of other categories. On the other hand, the cultivating tenants have almost the highest percentage of such persons among them. While the percentage of persons in all the categories offering to work for hire have increased since the first enquiry, the increase has been very great among the non-cultivating owner. This possibly reflects the impact of recent land reforms on their economic position. The position of cultivating tenants too have deteriorated, may be, for the same reason. That of the artisans has suffered the least deterioration.

4.5. The table gives figures for males and females separately. In general lower percentages of the latter offer for employment. The only exception is found among the cultivating tenants; proportionately more women than men seek work in the open labour market. Probably the average tenant farm is too small to provide employment for both men and women and the family income too low for women to be able to do without paid employment. Among artisans the position of males has deteriorated much more than that of females between the two enquiries. The agricultural labourers do not figure as a category in the above table, for the simple reason that they are, by definition, all of them on the open market for hire.

4.6. Although the proportion of workers who offered to work for hire increased from 34% to 41% between the two enquiries, the proportion of persons describing themselves

In the absence of data on the age structure of the population in the periods of the two enquiries, it is not possible to state categorically the extent of the increase in the proportion of persons offering for hire, caused by a change in the age structure of the population in the intervening period.

as agricultural labourers in the total population has remained constant. This is seen in the following table:—

Table 5.13

Percentage distribution of population by occupations (based on the individual's occupation)

Occupation	BMS	Repeat
Mainly cultivating owners	17	
Non-cultivating owners	0.3	0.3
Mainly cultivating tenants	3	2
Agricultural labourers	12	12
Artisans	2	2
Other non-agricultural occupations	24	5
No occupation	40	58

The discrepancy that we have noted may be due to the unwillingness of workers belonging to the four groups mentioned in the preceding table to be called agricultural labourers even though they are now forced by circumstances to work for hire. It would seem, therefore, that the supply of labour in the open market in the countryside is greater than the number of persons who are classified as agricultural labourers.

कर्मपत्र नमने

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

PEO	.	.	.	Programme Evaluation Organisation
PEOs	.	.	.	Project Evaluation Officers
REOs	.	.	.	Regional Evaluation Officers
Kharif	.	.	.	Crop Season: June-October
Rabi	.	.	.	Crop Season : November-April
Boro	.	.	.	Type of early paddy
AI Centre	.	.	.	Artificial Insemination Centre
Gur	.	.	.	Molasses or Jaggery
Ambar Charkha	.	.	.	Improved type of spinning wheel
Oil Ghanis	.	.	.	Oil crushing equipment
Katcha	.	.	.	Temporary
Ayurvedic	}	.	.	Indian system of medicine
Unani	}	.	.	
UNICEF	.	.	.	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Pucca	.	.	.	Permanent
B. M. S.	.	.	.	Bench Mark Survey
C.D.	.	.	.	Community Development
'School Challo Abhiyan'	.	.	.	Movement to get children to school.
T. C. M.	.	.	.	Technical Cooperation Mission, U.S.A.
Shibirs	.	.	.	Camps
B.D.O.	.	.	.	Block Development Officer
S. E. O.	.	.	.	Social Education Organiser
V. L. W.	.	.	.	Village Level Worker
Gram Kakis	}	.	.	Women workers (honorary) at the
Gram Lakshmis	}	.	.	village level.
S-I Block	.	.	.	Stage I Block
S-II Block	.	.	.	Stage II Block
Charkha	.	.	.	Spinning Wheel
Bhajan	}	.	.	Group singing of religious songs
Kirtan	}	.	.	
Panchayat	.	.	.	Village Council
Zilla Parishads	.	.	.	District Councils
Panchayat Samities	.	.	.	Block Level Councils
Gram	.	.	.	Village
Anchal Panchayats	.	.	.	Block Level Councils
Zilla	.	.	.	District
Taluk	.	.	.	Revenue Unit above the village level and below the District and its Sub-division.
Sarpanch	.	.	.	Chairman of the Panchayat Executive
Pradhan	.	.	.	President or Chairman
M. L. A.	.	.	.	Member of Legislative Assembly
P. W. D.	.	.	.	Public Works Department
Chaks	.	.	.	Hamlets
Gram Sahayaks	.	.	.	Village Leaders
Panchayat Ghars	.	.	.	Village Community Halls
Panchas	.	.	.	Members of the Village Council
Gaon Sabha	.	.	.	Village Assembly
Naya Panchayat	.	.	.	Judicial Village Council

APPENDIX II

Background information for selected blocks

Name of Block	District	State	Period of existence till 31-12-59 (Years)	Present Phase Stage-I (S-I) Stage-II (S-II)	Villages.	Area (Acres)	Popu- lation
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Perumamilla	. . . Cuddappah	Andhra	3.92	S-I	60	246,502	53,184
2. Hajo	. . . Kamrup	Assam	3.25	S-I	91	78,464	64,289
3. Tajpur-I	. . . Darbhanga	Bihar	7.25	S-II	80	29,909	72,133
4. Wazirganj	. . . Gaya	Bihar	3.25	S-I	191	89,042	94,792
5. Karvir	. . . Kolhapur	Bombay	7.25	S-II	129	191,635	174,127
6. Manavadar	. . . Junagadh	Bombay	7.25	S-II	55	147,520	70,888
7. Morsi	. . . Amravati	Bombay	7.25	S-II	120	204,545	59,360
8. Kazhakuttam	. . . Trivandrum	Kerala	4.25	S-I	40*	30,885	91,101
9. Ashta	. . . Secore	M.P.	6.25	S-II	275	341,101	83,108

10. Kalayarkoil	.	.	Ramanathapuram	Madras	3.75	S—I	72	125,277	76,062
11. Hunsur	.	.	Mysore	Mysore	4.75	S—I	154	242,643	73,689
12. Binka	.	.	Bolangir	Orissa	3.75	S—I	195	137,600	85,808
13. Barala	.	.	Gurdaspur	Punjab	7.25	S—II	134	69,822	88,164
14. Bhadson	.	.	Patiala	Punjab	7.75@	S—II	167	151,040	66,911
15. Sanchoore	.	.	Jalore	Rajasthan	3.75	S—I	161	745,466	88,819
16. Tonk	.	.	Tonk	Rajasthan	3.67	S—I	246	354,560	70,722
17. Bhathat	.	.	Gorakhpur	U.P.	7.25†	S—II	93	40,192	82,350
18. Mohd. Bazar	.	.	Birbhum	W. Bengal	7.25	S—II	140	75,654	53,392
TOTAL	.	.	18	13		S—I(9) S—II(9)	2,403	33,01,857	14,48,899

* Relates to Garas.

@ Excludir the pilot phase of 6 months.

† Excludir the pilot phase of 2 years 9 months, under the U.P. Government.

APPENDIX II—contd.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CURRENT EVALUATION
OF THE C. D. PROGRAMME

The PEO has undertaken to prepare every year a current evaluation of the C.D. programme. The central purpose of this study is to present an overall coordinated view of the working of programme. It would be in addition to the studies on particular aspects of the programme that the PEO may undertake to carry out from year to year. It would naturally be less detailed and specialised than these. On the other hand, it should give a more comprehensive picture of the programme in operation.

2. The material for this study will be collected mainly by the PEOs and other field staff. The PEOs and the investigators should collect them, whatever other enquiry or enquiries they may be engaged in at the time. The facts collected by them with comments should be used by the PEOs to prepare monthly reports to be sent to headquarters. Copies of these should also be sent to the REOs. The REO should similarly prepare quarterly reports for despatch to the headquarters. These should be based mainly upon the reports of the PEOs after they have been checked, and supplemented by their own observations and comments. While the PEOs' observations would naturally relate to the blocks they are working in, the REOs are expected to know and comment on any event happening at higher levels over wider areas, namely, States and regions.

3. Every reporting officer should clearly mention the source of his information, verify the information as far as practicable and indicate the area and the period to which it relates. He should make his comments after careful thought and only on the basis of facts observed by him or reaching him from reliable sources. The reports received from the PEOs and REOs and the facts collected by them and the investigators will form the raw-material for the preparation of the annual evaluation report. The period* for this year's report would generally be from July 1959 to March 1960. The greatest importance is attached to the accuracy, reliability and representativeness of the data collected by the field staff and the reasonableness of the comments made by them.

*Amended to July—December, 1959 for Part I and to July, 1959—January, 1960 for other parts.

4. The lists of main heads on which information is to be collected by the field investigators, PEOs and REOs are enclosed herewith. They are further broken up into separate heads. The lists of main heads and sub-heads are illustrative rather than exhaustive, and PEOs and REOs are expected to note significant facts which may come to their knowledge, but do not necessarily come under any of the heads or sub-heads mentioned therein.

Sd./- D. GHOSH.

CURRENT EVALUTION STUDY

*I. Background information on economic and social condition.**

1. Name of block.
 - (a) Date of inception.
 - (b) Phases through which passed
2. Headquarters.
3. District, its distances from the block hqrs.
4. Area.
5. No. of villages.
6. Population.
 - (a) Total.
 - (b) *Castes*.
 - (i) High
 - (ii) Low
 - (c) *Literacy*.
 - (i) Illiterate.
 - (ii) Literate.
7. Classification of area.
 - (a) Under cultivation.
 - (i) Net.
 - (ii) gross i.e., including double or multiple cropping.

*Information to be given for items "4-12 for 3 points" of time: (a) end of Dec. 1959, (b) end of June 1959 and (c) inception.

- (b) Cultivable waste.
- (c) Uncultivable waste.
- (d) forests.
- (e) others.

8. Area under irrigation by source.

9. Crop pattern
principal crops only

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Area under improved seed.</i>	<i>Area on which chemical fertilisers are used.</i>
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10. No. of educational institutions

- (a) Primary School.
- (b) Higher Secondary.
- (c) High School.
- (d) Others.

11. No of villages.

- (a) on pucca road.
- (b) within 3 miles of pucca road.

12. Comment on the natural factors during the years since inception, e.g., drought, flood, hails, pests etc.

II. Economic Programmes

A. Agriculture.

(i) What are the most important agricultural problems in your block? Ascertain from

- (a) Villagers
- (b) officials of block and village levels.

(ii) (a) What land reforms have been implemented in the villages of the block during the recent years?

- (b) Have these land reforms led to
 - (i) increase, or
 - (ii) decrease

in the investment in agriculture?

(iii) How is land "as an asset" looked after? (Report for the whole block and B.M.S. villages separately).

- (a) How much additional area was reclaimed?
- (b) How much additional area was brought under productive land use?

(c) (i) How much additional area was brought under irrigation?

(ii) What kinds of irrigation facilities have been provided?—tube wells—new masonry wells constructed—old masonry wells repaired and brought into use, persian wheels or pumps provided—boring of masonry wells, village ponds desilted—canals and minor irrigation channels constructed.

(d) What measures of soil conservation were taken in the last year? Bunding (medh bundi), terracing, contour cultivation, construction of drainage, construction of minor engineering works such as escapes, sluices, syphons and bunds etc.

(iv) (a) What is the programme of improved agricultural production during this year (July, 1959—March, 1960)* in relation to the main crops of the area?

(b) What improved practices are followed in the area? (Mention crop-wise).

(c) What new practices were recommended this year?

(d) Which of these new practices have been taken up by farmers?

(e) Has there been an increase over the normal yield per acre?

(f) What extension methods were adopted last year to propagate improved practices in agriculture? Have these methods undergone any changes this year?

(v) What changes have taken place during the year under review in the pattern of farming?

(a) Are more crops being raised on the same land?

(b) Are more garden crops, and/or vegetables raised?

(c) Is mixed farming being adopted to a larger extent (such as dairying)?

(d) What cash crops† have been introduced?

(e) What changes have taken place in the ratio of cereals and pulses to cash crops?

*Amended to July—December, 1959.

†By cash crop we mean a crop wholly or largely for sale.

B. *Animal Husbandry.*

(i) How far have the following activities proceeded? Artificial insemination of cattle, provision of pedigree bulls, indenting of pedigree cattle from outside.

(ii) Has the quality of cattle registered any improvement?

(iii) What improvements have taken place?

(iv) Has there been an increase in the area under fodder crops?

(v) What are the facilities, if any, for the prevention and cure of animal diseases?

(vi) What new facilities have been introduced or old ones extended in respect of (v) above?

(vii) Has there been any extension activity to propagate poultry keeping and to develop fisheries and piggeries?

(viii) What other animal husbandry activities, such as breeding of sheep, goats etc. have been added in the block?

C. *Organisation of Supply.*

(i) Are there organisations for supply of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and implements in the block?

If so, are they maintained by Govt./by cooperative institutions, or by private traders?

(ii) If the supply line is maintained by cooperatives or Agriculture Department Seed Stores.

(a) Are the seed stores within easy reach of most of the villages of the block?

(b) Has the supply been adequate in quantity at existing seed stores?

(c) Are the farmers satisfied by the quality of the stuff distributed by

(i) Cooperative seed stores?

(ii) Agriculture Department stores?

(d) Have the supplies been available in time?

(e) Is the price of materials or equipments supplied within the resources of the farmers in the block?

(iii) Do the cooperative stores render other services like

- (a) distribution of credit?
- (b) hiring costly agricultural implements?
- (c) marketing the agricultural produce?

D. Cooperation.

(i) How many cooperative societies are there in the block? Give details.*? (Table on the following page).

(ii) What progress has been made in the working of the joint farming cooperative societies in the block?

(iii) Do the service cooperative societies in your block prepare their plans? If so, please describe how they do it.

(iv) How are these plans executed?

E. Village industries.

(i) What are the main arts and crafts in the block?

(ii) What is the programme of rural industry for the block?

(iii) What new crafts have been introduced?

(iv) What measures have been adopted for (report after visiting villages in which the crafts are concentrated).

- (a) the training of artisans?
- (b) the supply of equipments and materials?
- (c) marketing of produce?
- (d) eliciting consumer opinion and arranging for consumer education?
- (e) provision of credit?

(v) What new techniques have been introduced?

III. Social Programmes

A. Health.

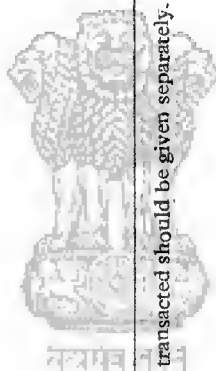
(i) What is the most important problem of public health in the block?

*The following additional data were also collected;

- (a) Owned Capital divided into important categories, such as reserve fund, building fund, share capital.
- (b) Break down of working capital into constituent elements.
- (c) Figures for 30.6.58 for credit, multipurpose marketing and, industrial societies along with comments on their working.

- a. Cooperative farming by labourers on state land
- b. Cooperative farming by tenants.
- c. Cooperative farming by cultivators, who pool their land and resources

F. Others . . .



* Loans given, purchases made and sales transacted should be given separately.

(ii) What activities have been taken up in the block to solve these problems?

(iii) (a) What has been done to propagate improved latrines?

(b) How far have these latrines been adopted?

(c) If they have not been popular, what do you think are the reasons for their failure?

(iv) What other sanitary works have been introduced in the area such as:

(a) drinking water wells?

(b) hand pumps?

(c) bathing and utensil cleaning platforms?

(d) improved drains for the disposal of water from the house?

(e) others?

(v) Was there appreciable public contribution in the form of labour and money towards this programme?

(vi) Did any epidemic break out during the year? If so, what steps, if any, were taken to meet it?

(vii) How many primary health centres, dispensaries and hospitals are there in the block?

(viii) Is there any maternity or child welfare service operating in the block?

B. Education.

(i) How many primary and other schools are there in the block?

(ii) How many primary schools were converted into basic schools in the block?

(iii) Has the attendance in schools increased during the year (in the B.M.S. villages)?

(iv) Has the number of Harijan boys or girls attending schools increased over the last year?

(v) What extra steps have been taken to provide recreation etc. to children?

(vi) To what extent teachers have taken part in the C.D. programme?

(vii) Were teachers trained in the philosophy, objectives and the working of community development and N.E.S. blocks?

(viii) What other amenities and services have been provided for in the block *viz* :

- (a) distribution of powdered milk?
- (b) arrangement for mid-day meals?
- (c) supply of child play apparatus?
- (d) provision of games materials and educational equipments?

C. Social education.

(i) What is the size of the social education staff in the block?

(ii) What is the state* of the following social education activities in the block?

- (a) Community Centres
- (b) Adult Literacy class
- (c) Youth Clubs
- (d) Mahila Mandals

(iii) Is this programme spreading?

- (a) Community Centres
- (b) Adult Literacy Class
- (c) Youth Clubs
- (d) Mahila Mandals

N.B.—PEOs in Stage II blocks were asked to intimate separately the number of community centres, mahila mandals, and youth clubs organised during the C.D. project period and the subsequent period and the number which are defunct or inactive out of that for each period.

*Please intimate the number of each of these institutions existing at present in your block.

IV. Democratic Decentralization, Planning and Local Self-Government

(i) What is the progress of democratic decentralization in your area?

- (a) pre-legislation stage
- (b) legislation
- (c) implementation of the legislation?

(ii) The institutions in operation—how the institutions are planning the programme?

- (a) Panchayats
- (b) Panchayat Samiti and/or Block Development Committee
- (c) Zilla Parishad.

Instructions:

(i) Attend one meeting of the Zilla Parishad or the District Development Committee once in two months and report on the functioning of this institution as a planning body.

(ii) Attend six *meetings of different Panchayat Samitis or Block Development Committees in two months and report on these institutions as planning bodies.

V. People's Outlook and Attitudes:

(i) Do the village people consider that

- (a) the C.D. programme is their own?
- (b) it is merely a Government programme for rural welfare?

(ii) Do the people take part in the preparation of the C.D. programme in sufficient numbers?

(iii) Have people contributed in labour and/or money to the construction of projects of common benefit like

- (a) village approach roads?
- (b) wells?
- (c) schools, etc.? (Report on the basis of block data and BMS villages separately)

*As the period of investigation was too short the PEOs were asked to attend at least two meetings.

(iv) Has the people's participation in these works increased/decreased/remained constant during the past year?

B.—Please supply figures on the value of people's participation during the last two complete years and the reference period both for the block as a whole and for BMS villages separately. Indicate the basis on which people's participation is computed i.e., the projects included, the method of estimating the value of participation, etc.

(v) To what projects of public benefit have the villagers contributed most in labour or money (list in the order of their contributions):—

- (a) making pucca irrigation channels or constructing school buildings?
- (b) constructing drainage for their fields or pavement of lanes?
- (c) constructing community compost pits, or building a Gandhi Chabutara or meeting place (platform)?

